

THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLES TELEVISION NETWORK: AN INSTITUTIONAL
MODEL OF EMPOWERMENT

A Thesis

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of

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by

KAREN B. RICHARDS

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ABSTRACT

THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLES TELEVISION NETWORK: AN INSTITUTIONAL MODEL OF EMPOWERMENT

Karen B. Richards
University of Guelph, 2006

Advisor:
Professor L. Gerber

This thesis is an investigation of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) as an institutional model of empowerment. The results of the study support APTN as a model in five ways. First, the APTN is a grass-roots project meant to benefit Aboriginal people. Second, there are four structural components, (i) the Mentorship Program, (ii) career development workshops, (iii) the APTN Mission Statement, and, (iv) mandatory carriage status. Third, APTN informants demonstrate empowerment from the interview responses. Fourth, an APTN Programming Content Analysis portrays the diversity of Aboriginal Peoples and uses Aboriginal voices to tell the stories. Last, APTN is supported as a model of empowerment by providing a set of objectives for international organizations looking to empower Aboriginal Peoples. The overwhelming implications of APTN demonstrate the ability of a public broadcaster to potentially change the hegemony concerning Aboriginal Peoples by using television as a tool for self-expression.

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Introduction

The Aboriginal Peoples Television Network Case Study

APTN – Aboriginal Peoples Television Network is the first national Aboriginal television network in the world with programming by, for and about Aboriginal Peoples, to share with all Canadians as well as viewers around the world. Its launch on September 1, 1999 represented a significant milestone for Aboriginal Canada – for the first time in broadcast history, First Nations, Inuit and Métis people have the opportunity to share their stories with all of Canada through a national television network dedicated to Aboriginal programming. Through documentaries, news magazines, dramas, entertainment specials, children's series, cooking shows, and education programs, APTN offers all Canadians a window into the remarkably diverse worlds of Indigenous peoples in Canada and throughout the world (APTN, 2005b: 1).

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) as an institutional model of Empowerment. Empowerment is defined using the results of this project as:

...the ability to have the perspectives of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada, their heritages, their cultures and their stories portrayed on television. Furthermore, empowerment comes as the set of opportunities granted to Aboriginal staff members that they feel they would not have gained otherwise, and the ability to learn or re-learn about their cultural heritages through programming and staff interaction. Thus the APTN is an institutional model of empowerment for Aboriginal Peoples in Canada because it is a tool for Aboriginal self-identification, expression and development.

Empowerment is relevant to the APTN because this network has developed from a unique set of opportunities throughout the 19th century, as a grass roots project run by and for Aboriginal people in Canada. Furthermore, APTN's programming is geared specifically to portraying an Aboriginal voice in the Canadian media, a voice recognized by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) as absent prior to APTN's introduction in 1999. Thus, the CRTC recognizes APTN as a mandatory component to its commitment of representing the diversity of peoples in

Canada on television. The possibility of empowering Aboriginal Peoples in Canada presents itself through the APTN as a tool for self-identification and representation.

Historically, Aboriginal Peoples have been marginalized from the Canadian media by their “invisibility” or their stereotypical representations presented on television (Alia, 1999; Roth, 2005). APTN enables Aboriginal production companies, actors and cultural groups a *space* for which they may be represented and where the issues important to them may be expressed. The historical route of Aboriginal television and the many achievements of Aboriginal people along the way have reached a goal that only thirty years ago may have seemed an impossible dream.

Constructing the APTN as a model of empowerment must involve the voices of the people involved with its programming service. As a result of several interviews with APTN staff, a programming content analysis and fieldwork at the APTN head office in Winnipeg, several clear indicators of empowerment were demonstrated. Outlined in this thesis are five basic premises for constructing the APTN model of empowerment. These premises are based on field research at the APTN head office in October 2005; the historical development of Aboriginal Television in Canada; the structural mandate; and commitments APTN has to the CRTC and the Canadian Broadcasting Act (1991).

The presentation of APTN as a model of empowerment is presented in the next chapters. Chapter 2 is a literature review using five objectives required for constructing a model of empowerment that include: a) demonstrating a dominant hegemony regarding the treatment of Aboriginal people in Canada; b) the clarification of the role, objectives and attainment of mass media in Canada and the opportunity APTN presents in filling the performance gap between these objectives and attainment; c) a summary of the ways

“empowerment” is used in the literature concerning Aboriginal Peoples, the media, and related business strategy; d) the evaluation of similar case studies in Australia; and e) an analysis of the theoretical debate about Aboriginal media production in academia. The literature review demonstrates the value of the APTN case study and the possibility of constructing the APTN as a model of empowerment.

Chapter 3 is the historical and thematic contextualization of Aboriginal television in Canada using the six-phase analysis developed by communications theorist Lorna Roth (2005). This chapter also provides a critique of Roth’s (2005) particular evaluation of this history. Ultimately this chapter provides support for the APTN as a grass roots organization, created by and for Aboriginal people with the intentions of benefiting this cultural group.

Chapter 4 details the theoretical components of the thesis including anthropologist Marilyn Strathern’s construction of *reflexivity* as the most appropriate investigation technique for field study to-date. Furthermore, Strathern’s theoretical interpretation of fieldwork is supported by Marshall McLuhan’s (1994 [1964]) communications theory through the use of a medium as a *tool* for self-identification and representation. Chapter 4 outlines the theoretical debate presented in the literature and supports the argument that a grass roots medium, like the APTN, is empowering for Aboriginal people.

Chapter 5 describes the details of the methodology used in this project. The methodology stems from the considerations of Strathern’s (1991) emphasis on reflexive anthropology and includes both the voices of APTN informants and the researcher. Arguably, this methodological consideration offers a credible response to the cultural relativity critique of postmodernism.

Chapter 6 supports the theoretical components of reflexive, constructivist postmodernism by providing the results of the interview and programming components to the research process. This section is organized around on the five points for developing the APTN as a model of empowerment. Ultimately, the seven chapters outlined in this thesis support the APTN as an Institutional Model of empowerment based on five points developed by this study. These points include:

- 1) The APTN is a “grass roots” organization developed to benefit Aboriginal Peoples in Canada;
- 2) The APTN is comprised of four major structural components meant to benefit Aboriginal people and ensure that their perspectives are heard: a) the Mentorship Program; b) Career development workshop opportunities, c) Mission Statement, and d) Mandatory Carriage Status;
- 3) APTN informants perceive the APTN as a tool for the empowerment of Aboriginal Peoples using seven coded words and 13 themes, forming the definition of APTN empowerment;
- 4) APTN programming supports the mandate commitments by providing Aboriginal perspectives and voices in the Canadian media;
- 5) APTN provides a case study to support the theoretical consideration that Aboriginal media comprise a space for empowerment, rather than a process of globalization and assimilation and may be able to shift the hegemony concerning Aboriginal identity in Canada.

Therefore, this thesis constructs APTN as an institutional model of empowerment through: the existing literature, a historical analysis, interviews with APTN staff, a programming content analysis, and the theoretical consideration of APTN as a case study. APTN supports the argument that Aboriginal media may be a space for Aboriginal empowerment because it is a tool used by Aboriginal people for their self-identification and representation in the Canadian media. The possibilities are endless and the first five

years of operation suggest the continued growth and momentum the Aboriginal television industry will incur in the future.

Literature Review Chapter 2

Antonio Gramsci (1971) employed the term “hegemony” to imply the political power of leadership to evoke consensus within society. Gramsci refers to hegemony as organizations of peoples, media and information ability that control the masses and create a dominant ideology (Gramsci, 1971). Hegemony can be applied in the case of the historical treatment of Aboriginal people in Canada in terms of the dominant ideology of assimilation (Kulchyski, 1995; Titley, 1986). Applying hegemony to a contemporary context of Aboriginal people’s empowerment may support a model of empowerment for other institutions looking to develop similar projects. Furthermore, the potential of APTN as a model of empowerment is because it is a *tool* for self-expression and representation.

A model of empowerment must first be positioned in the academic literature. For the purposes of forming such a model based on the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), the review of literature is organized around five conceptual objectives:

(i) The first objective in constructing a model of empowerment examines the historical treatment of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. The historical representations of these people in the mass media indicate the hegemonic ideology Canadians have of Aboriginal people. Aboriginal academics such as Voyageur (2001), Valaskakis (1993) and Lambertus (2004) discuss these representations and help ground the importance of the APTN and its potential to change the hegemony.

(ii) The second objective in examining a model of empowerment includes a summary of the relevant roles of the media in Canadian society and also the roles these media are intended to play. Taras (1990, 2001) focuses on the ‘responsibility’ role of

news-making and Shultz (in Taras et al., 2001) discusses the gap between the objectives of the mass media and their actual attainment. This section also discusses the concept of 'convergence' of the Canadian 'mediascape' as explained in Sullivan and Beaty (2001). By clarifying the problems with Canadian media production in general, it is possible to highlight the effect that APTN might have in closing the gap between media objectives and attainment.

(iii) A third objective in the examination of a model is articulating the concept of 'empowerment' and its application in the literature involving media production and identity representation. The concept of empowerment is common to many disciplines including development, communications, sociology, anthropology and business. Thus, the focus here is to best represent the application of empowerment in the literature involving Aboriginal Peoples, development projects or corporate productivity, all pertinent to the institutional analysis of the APTN.

(iv) The fourth objective to the APTN model formation examines comparative case studies of Aboriginal media production in Australia (Ginsburg 1991, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 2002; Hinkson, 2002; Meadows & Molnar, 2002). These examples demonstrate the *space* in which the APTN case study may enter the discourse of empowerment. *Space* refers to the location or site in which a model of empowerment is contextualized. The comparative case studies lead to the final objective of formulating an academic debate regarding Aboriginal or indigenous media and positioning the APTN as the first *national* Aboriginal television network.

(v) The final objective in constructing a model of empowerment for Aboriginal Peoples in Canada involves the theoretical debate regarding "non-traditional" media of

Aboriginal communications. These “non-traditional” media are attributed to processes of globalization and cause the portrayals of Aboriginal Peoples to seem less *authentic*. *Authenticity* refers to the traditional modernist application of defining culture: “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” evident in early anthropological ethnography (Tylor, 1924 [1871]:1). Thus, according to the modernist perspective, defining ‘culture’ is about the things people do, such as cooking techniques (customs), marriage patterns (morals) or media-use. “Non traditional media” then, refers to this modernist perspective on culture.

This last objective also proposes that academics apply postmodernist definitions of culture to redefine *authentic* applications of media. For instance, Knauft suggests “[c]ulture is now best seen not as an integrated entity, tied to a fixed group of people, but as a shifting and contested process of constructing collective identity” (Knauft, 1996: 44). Thus, postmodernists accept ‘culture’ to mean “collective identities” rather than as a set of “capabilities”. Therefore, if an Aboriginal culture regards the use of a medium like television to be a tool for their survival, resistance, or voice, then medium-use by Aboriginal Peoples is a process of empowerment rather than a process of globalization or conformity to mainstream culture.

Practical problems arise, however, when institutions like the APTN use the single term ‘Aboriginal’ to include a diversity of cultures, groups and peoples. The use of a single word confuses the identities of the many Aboriginal people included under the “Aboriginal” title, potentially making the case for Aboriginal empowerment more complex. If the APTN is a model for the empowerment of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada,

then it must be able to portray the representations of its diverse peoples by using television as their medium *tool*.

Therefore, the five conceptual objectives of formulating a model involve: (i) identifying the dominant hegemony concerning the identities of Aboriginal people in Canada; (ii) a summary of the roles mass media play in the objectives of the Canadian media; (iii) the evaluation of empowerment in the existing literature; (iv) a comparative case study analysis of Aboriginal media production in Australia; and (v) the theoretical debate in anthropology regarding the use of mass media as either a *tool* for empowerment or as a process of globalization. Through these five objectives, an institutional model of empowerment based on the APTN case is presented with the opportunity of studying the industry first hand, using the methodology employed in the theoretical considerations of reflexive, constructivist Postmodernism.

Hegemony and the Historical Portrayal of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada

The first objective to support the APTN as a model for empowerment requires a framework of the historical treatment of Aboriginal people in Canada. This objective clarifies that the APTN may be able to alter the Canadian hegemonic and stereotypical understanding of Aboriginal Peoples. This hegemony has been constructed through the historical treatment of Aboriginal people in Canada and is demonstrated in the media.

Hegemony, in the context of the Canadian Aboriginal Peoples, is based on the conceptualization by Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci (1971: 12) defines hegemony as the following:

1. The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is "historically" caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant

group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.

2. The apparatus of state coercive power which “legally” enforces discipline on those groups who do not “consent” either actively or passively. This apparatus is, however, constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of moments of crisis of command and direction when spontaneous consent has failed.

Thus, employing Gramsci’s (1971) definition of hegemony to the treatment of Aboriginal people involves the “historical” and “legal” descriptions which are both evident in the Canadian context.

Kulchyski (1995) applies the concept of hegemony to Aboriginal Peoples in Canada as “any attempt on the part of the dominant society to assimilate Aboriginal peoples” ... “[a]ssimilation, to Aboriginal leaders means the process of making Aboriginal culture irrelevant in the lives of Aboriginal peoples” (61). The ability to make a culture “irrelevant” to the lives of Aboriginal peoples is a powerful notion and is an effect of the Western ideology of *assimilation*. As Kulckyski (1995) and many others suggest, the ideology of assimilation helped shape the long history of subordination of Aboriginal Peoples since the inception of colonial power.

Furthermore, the Indian Act of 1876 is based on the purpose of the Enfranchisement Act (1869) “to regulate the orderly transition of Aboriginal peoples into the mainstream of Canadian society” (Kulchyski, 1995: 62). The branch of the government, known as Indian Affairs, doubled in size from 1878 to 1881, from 54 to 139 people, indicating an increased interest in governing Aboriginal Peoples (Satzewich, 1996). It was the job of these 139 white men to “regulate and socially transform Indian people into ideal-typical European men and women” (1996: 214). Therefore, the purpose

of official legislation was to assimilate Aboriginal Peoples into mainstream Canadian culture and the administration of Indian Affairs corresponds with this ideal.

Furthermore, the assimilation ideology is presented in Titley (1986) regarding Duncan Campbell Scott and the Indian Affairs branch of the government. Scott played a crucial role in the administration of the “great civilization mission of the British Empire” and believed that all Canadians at the time should be taught that “all its [Canada’s] life flowed either from the old world or New England” (Titley, 1986: 25). Presumably, Scott suggests that Aboriginal Peoples did not have a part in contributing to Canada’s formation, a devastating omission for their welfare (Titley, 1986). Titley’s argument clarifies the process of assimilation, which makes the lives of Aboriginal people irrelevant to Canadians through education. Therefore, Scott’s assimilation techniques demonstrate Kulchyski’s (1995) application of hegemony by identifying the treatment Aboriginal people endured. By omitting the significance Aboriginal Peoples played in the history of Canada’s formation, the belief in their irrelevance to Canadian society was administered, changing the hegemonic ideal to a reality.

However, when Aboriginal people were given the right to vote without having to denounce their treaty rights in 1960, the dominant idea of assimilating Aboriginal culture may still have been present. Yet, the production of the Trudeau government’s White Paper² suggests, at least, that the *ideal* of assimilation had shifted. As such, the new ideology for the treatment of Aboriginal people paved the way for the introduction of multiculturalism in 1971 (Kulchyski, 1995). Yet the legislation of multiculturalism did not result in the altering of the treatment of Aboriginal people. The declaration of *multiculturalism* identified Canada as a country with such official policy, yet the

declaration did not necessarily provide the appropriate changes to ensure the multicultural status of all of its minorities (Eagleton, 2000). In other words, official multicultural policy did not immediately lead to the proper and fair treatment of Canada's minority populations. Evidence of this continual battle for fair treatment is presented by legislation continually shifting to incorporate the changing needs of Canada's cultures (Kymlicka, 2002), whereas some suggest that multiculturalism is unsuccessful (Eagleton, 2000; Bissoondath, 2002). The changing ideologies of diversity and multiculturalism are significant as they have developed from a history of assimilation. The legislative changes in the treatment of Aboriginal people, under multicultural policy, indicate the possibility of developing practices that develop new ideals regarding the treatment, or portrayal of Aboriginal Peoples, such as the APTN (Roth, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002a, 2005).

Other examples of the historical hegemony of assimilation are evident in the portrayals of Aboriginal Peoples on television. As Voyageur suggests:

The only Indians on television were 'Injun Joe' (who spoke to bears) on the after-school program *The Forest Rangers*; Tonto (which means stupid in Spanish), the Lone Ranger's faithful sidekick; and Chingachcook- the Indian chief who caused pioneers no end of trouble and worry in the television version of James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*. There were no 'real' Indians on television. What I saw were the White man's images of Indians (2001: 165).

Voyageur's experience with television in the 1950s is not unique, but it is important in highlighting the extent the dominant stereotypes of Aboriginal Peoples played in the mass media. Clearly from Voyageur's (2001) experience, it was the dominant mainstream media in control of the representations rather than Aboriginal people.

Similarly, Valaskakis (1993) discusses the representations of Aboriginal stereotypes present in the mainstream, using an example she attributes to Coco Fusco:

She and a colleague presented a piece of performance art at museums in the United States, Spain, and Australia which involved spending three full days in a cage in the museum, dressed as “primitives” who cannot understand English. They danced or sang or posed for photographs for a fee; ate mush; and were taken to the bathroom on a leash. The artists were amazed at how many spectators failed to read their satire on the Indian as museum artifact and were convinced that they are “real Indians” (1993: 284).

Valaskakis’ (1993) description of the artists’ portrayal demonstrates an attempt to undermine the existing hegemonic ideals concerning Aboriginal Peoples yet it also demonstrates the hegemonic construction itself. Museum representations of *authentic*³ cultures have been a topic for serious controversy in Cultural Studies, specifically by Stuart Hall (1997). For instance, museums have the specific role of displaying *authentic* artefacts that are meant to represent a culture. Clearly, a museum does not have the space, or the capacity to represent a culture in its entirety although the museum is entrusted to represent the culture as accurately as possible. Thus, the museum visitor is expected to fill in the gaps for the missing information. The individuals responsible for filling in the gaps will then base their constructions on their own preconceived notions. If these preconceived notions happen to fall in line with those presented in the dominant hegemony (i.e. the mainstream media), then stereotypical representations may prevail which may account for the amount of spectators that failed to read the satire in Coco Fusco’s display.

Like Voyageur (2001) and Valaskakis (1993), Roth (1995) gives another example of the hegemonic representations of Aboriginal Peoples, in the context of Canada’s Northern peoples:

In the first half of the twentieth century, written texts, photographs, films, and magazines... represented ethnographic data circumscribing the public’s views and images of First Peoples as “other.” They were “noble

savage,” “primitive,” “uncivilized,” “exotic,” people, living within a time frame outside of those of the author’s societies...Discursively framing First Peoples in this way made it easier to maintain and reproduce hierarchical social and political relations with Euro-Canadians’ public consent (1995:37).

Roth (1995) goes on to say that this discursive framing of stereotypes has caused symbolic violence in the lives of First Peoples making it “difficult for them to disrupt the continuum of distortions” (37). Again, the statements made by Voyageur (2001), Valaskakis (1993) and Roth (1995) support the argument that the hegemonic ideology of assimilation is carried out in the mainstream media. Thus, the mainstream media carry out the objectives of the hegemonic ideology by the stereotypical portrayals of peoples on television.

Furthermore, the stereotypical portrayals of Aboriginal Peoples on television appear not only in the entertainment sphere, but in the news as well. On the Kanesatake and Kahnawake reserves, the “Mohawk” or “Oka Crisis” in 1990 near Montreal, Quebec is such an example. Grenier’s (1994) content analysis of the *Montreal Gazette* during the period of January 2 – July 31, 1990 demonstrates that Aboriginal Peoples and their struggles were negatively implicated in the news. Grenier states that “Native Indians⁴ are strongly associated with conflict specific to Oka” (Grenier, 1994: 326). In short, according to Grenier, the Native Indians long histories of grievances were never expressed where the coverage was concerned, thus giving readers the impression of negativity surrounding the blockade. Since the histories of the Mohawk were not expressed in the articles, the readers were not given the perspective of the Native Indians involved, thus suggesting the bias of the *Montreal Gazette*. Grenier concludes that there

was a “pattern of negative Native-Indian coverage by the sample newspaper” and used three theories for his analysis (326): audience, activity and organizational.

First Grenier outlines the *audience thesis* which suggests the consumer demands to know about an event and assumes that ‘news-worthiness’ is determined, primarily, by the audience. Second, Grenier suggests the *activity thesis* which means that the activity or the type of story itself is the primary factor determining how the story is covered, rather than by the audience interest (328). The third theory discussed is the *organizational thesis* which argues that the medium itself, in this case the *Montreal Gazette*, is responsible for the bias in the final copy rather than the audience interest or the story (330). In other words, those responsible for the negative character in which the stories of Oka were cast were the producers, editors and writers, not the news consumers, as in the audience thesis.

Grenier (1994) argues that the third thesis is the most legitimate and dismisses the audience thesis because it shifts the responsibility for coverage to the consumer rather than to the producer. The organizational thesis supports the argument that the mainstream media have the ability to perpetuate the ideals of the hegemony. Furthermore, “a glut of mass media coverage of an event may not necessarily reflect an abundance of consumer interest in that event” (327). Grenier (1994) also dismisses the activity thesis as similar to the first because it “removes responsibility, purposefulness and interest from the varied and organized activities of members of the sample newspaper and implicitly attaches them to those engaged in the activities being covered” (328). Thus, Grenier’s (1994) analysis supports Kulchyski’s (1995) application of hegemony by placing the responsibility of the news coverage on the medium rather than on the viewer.

If the dominant ideology represents Aboriginal Peoples as negative in character, then this bias is found within media sources. Therefore, the significance for the APTN model is determined by the APTN's responsibility for portraying Aboriginal Peoples. Furthermore, the self-representations of Aboriginal people on APTN programs may act as resistance to the hegemonic ideals of the mass media, working to shift these perspectives.

Grenier's (1994) organizational thesis is further supported in Lambertus' (2004) interpretation of the media's involvement and production of news during the Gustafsen Lake Standoff in 1995. Her review of the existing literature regarding the media's representation of Aboriginal Peoples is as follows:

Most media researchers concur that news stories about minorities are a major source of stereotyping...The media may inadvertently rely on and perpetuate stereotypes without any regard for the impact of such portrayals on the larger group. This is especially the case when they are casting individual members of racial minorities who gain notoriety (2004: 9).

Lambertus expands Grenier's (1994) methodology by incorporating interviews with journalists, editors and media audiences. She concludes that "the journalists recognized that their own biases and editorial policies also shaped the way that they cast their stories: 'Some media threw their objectivity out the window. Once you stop trying...subjectivity lets loose.'" (Reporter interview in Lambertus, 2004: 186). Furthermore, on the subject of media power, Lambertus (2004) discusses the journalists' understanding and feelings of inability to prevent the RCMP from having manipulated them during the Gustafsen Lake standoff story. "Once committed to covering the event, journalists had to accommodate their coverage to the overriding circumstances of the RCMP instituting their operational plan" (188). Therefore, in this case, the RCMP officers were in control of interpreting the situation for the reporters. Yet, the reporters

continued to engage with the story and report the RCMP officers' statements, indicating an existing hegemonic power dynamic: that the RCMP is an authority in Canada and thus has the power to make these statements.

Consequently, Lambertus' (2004) example indicates another level of hegemonic power to the *organizational thesis* of Grenier. In her interpretation, the reporters were aware of the RCMP's role, yet continued to cover the story using this bias. At this level, the reporters themselves believe that, although the RCMP is the only source for information, it is still a reliable source as an institutional power in Canada. The power of representation is not given to the Aboriginal people involved in the dispute. Thus, Lambertus' (2004) study supports the argument for the historical hegemonic ideology of Aboriginal identities in Canada.

In summary, the history of hegemony in Canada supports the argument for an institutional model of empowerment proposed in this thesis. By creating a separate medium, the APTN is responsible for the portrayal of Aboriginal Peoples and has the power to shape these representations to their benefit. The evidence for the existing hegemony has been found in the administration of Indian Affairs and in the representations of Aboriginal Peoples on television and in print media. The next section identifies the gap between the roles mass media play in Canada and their legislated objectives, indicating the possibilities of filling this gap with the APTN.

The Objectives and Roles of Mass Media

A second objective in formulating a model involves outlining the roles the mass media play within the Canadian *mediascape*⁵ and the idealistic objectives mass media are meant to achieve. The mass media in several countries, such as Britain, the United States

and France all seem to differ in their programming objectives, but do not have an equivalent example to the APTN. Thus, maintaining the focus on the Canadian model is pertinent to the APTN case study.

According to Taras (1990, 2001), Roth (1995; 2005), Shultz (2001), Winseck, (2002) and others, the Canadian media are powerful tools in shaping not only public opinion and perspective on issues such as political leadership, but also “play a critical role in constituting or constructing the public” itself (Shultz, 2001: 30). Furthermore, Shultz (2001) argues that mass media in Canada and the resulting productions and messages play a huge part in Canadian culture. Others suggest that television is the primary mode of mass media with 99 per cent of households in Canada owning at least one colour television set, compared to 70.3 per cent with a CD player and 49.8 per cent with a personal computer (Sullivan and Beaty, 2001). According to the Cable Television Association (CCTA), 92 per cent of those owning a television set are ‘cable-ready’ and 74 per cent are cable-subscribers (CCTA, 2003). Thus, television is the most dominant form of mass media in this country, forming a significant space for the analysis of its power.

Television is further supported as a powerful medium via the theoretical considerations employed in this thesis. McLuhan explains, that “[e]verybody experiences far more than he [or she] understands. Yet it is experience, rather than understanding, that influences behaviour, especially in collective matters of media and technology, where the individual is almost inevitably unaware of their effect upon him” (1994 [1964]: 318). McLuhan’s statement of the roles media play further support Gramsci’s (1971) description of hegemony used above. According to McLuhan (1994 [1964]), society is

influenced by media and technology even when society is unaware of it and, thus, media may be used to validate the objectives or ideals of the hegemony. However, if a separate medium exists, with an alternative ideology regarding Aboriginal Peoples, then this creates an opportunity for a different medium tool to alter the existing hegemony.

Others argue that the programming *content* rather than the roles media play, is the important aspect for discussion since *content* is the service the media provide (Taras, 1990, 2001; Roth, 1995; Shultz, 2001; Winseck, 2002). Content is the basis for which the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) are able to license a medium like the APTN as the commitments are based on language, closed caption, and Canadian *content*⁶ regulations (CRTC Decision 99-42, 1999; CRTC Decision 2005-445, 2005). Hall (1980, 1997) focuses on the *codes* programming content provide, where *codes* refer to the representations of cultural identities on television. Hall (1980, 1994) suggests that the codes are formulated by the ideals of those responsible for their representation, supporting Grenier's (1994) organizational thesis. The organizational thesis suggests that television content is the responsibility of the medium as opposed to the audience. Thus, the representation of cultural identities calls into question the ownership and power over the production of television content and the *intentions* of the medium's owners and staff.

In the United States, media are privately owned in a variety of monopolies, contracts, buyouts and *convergences* (Tuchman, 1974). Like mass media in the United States, the concept of convergence occurs in the Canadian media discourse in discussions of power and ownership over media corporations. Take for instance the description of convergence of the Canadian mediascape in Winseck (2002: 797):

Quebecor absorbed Videotron. Rogers Communications aligned itself with global media titans Microsoft and AT&T, and formed an alliance with Shaw Communications to divide Canada's cable industry into Cable Monopoly East and Cable Monopoly West. Shaw Communications-based Corus Entertainment bought Nelvana, the premier creator of animated programs in Canada. And of course, Bell Canada parlayed its dominance in telecommunications across the vast Canadian mediascape by launching Express Vu and Sympatico in 1994 and 1995, respectively, and, over the last year, by acquiring CTV and the *Globe and Mail*.

Clearly, a pattern of convergence across the Canadian mediascape demonstrates a significant contributor to financial power in this country. Furthermore, Winseck (2002) suggests that this pattern of convergence is neither new nor unexpected for the Canadian media and has occurred since the 19th century. This means ownership and power over production and the content portrayed on television is orchestrated by a small number of individuals in the mainstream media. Even publicly owned media, like the CBC, are not immune to the power of mainstream content convergence due to government cuts and the shift from producing its own programs to financing media acquisitions from private, more stable companies (Winseck, 2002).

Winseck's (2002) convergence example also highlights the problem hegemonic ideals of Aboriginal people's identities may play in mass media. If the small number of company elites amongst Quebecor, Rogers Communications, Shaw and Bell Canada hold the same hegemonic ideals as those portrayed by Voyageur (2001) and Valaskakis (1993), then the convergence of Canada's mediascape could only further perpetuate the hegemony. However, if APTN holds power in Canada's mediascape like Quebecor, Rogers Communications, Shaw or Bell Canada, then it too could have an impact on the ways Aboriginal people are represented on television.

Furthermore, Shultz (2001) proposes a “performance gap” as a gap between public objectives and attainment of media and this is systemic in the Canadian media. Shultz (2001) also indicates this gap is indicative of the increase in American content⁷ in Canadian broadcasting, a further convergence to the dominant mainstream ideology. Yet the significance of evaluating a performance gap for the APTN lies in its CRTC commitment to 70 per cent of the broadcast week of Canadian content (CRTC decision 2005-445, 2005). If APTN is achieving its license commitments, then it may also be achieving the objectives of Canada’s media service in general which Shultz (2001) outlines is missing in the existing media.

The performance gap is further evaluated in Raboy (1997) as a hybridization of public broadcasting within the private sector, suggesting that the Canadian system is a single system “comprising public, private and community elements” (106). He suggests Canada has an entirely different set of problems from the rest of the world because the Canadian Broadcasting Act declares all broadcasting in Canada to provide “a public service essential to the maintenance and enhancement of national identity and cultural sovereignty” (Canadian Broadcasting Act, 1991). Therefore, all mass media in Canada are intended to enhance the cultural identity of Canadians, which should include Aboriginal media, according to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Section 15 (1982), the Multiculturalism Act (1988), the Human Rights Act (1976-77), and the Employment Equity Act (1986) (Roth, 2005). Thus, the significance of the APTN is indicated by this content requirement and is supported by the Solutions Research Group (2003) study conclusion, that without the APTN, Canada’s representation of Aboriginal Peoples is insufficient or altogether lacking. These results indicate where APTN may fill the

'performance gap' in the Canadian media and suggest that, if all broadcasting in Canada is supposed to be 'a public service enhancing national identity', it can only be achieved with the addition of the APTN. Including APTN in its programming content study, Solutions Research Group (2003) has found that APTN is *necessary* to fulfilling the guidelines in the Canadian Broadcasting Act (1991). If the Solutions Research Group (2003) project is valid then it is significant for the APTN model in terms of its potential power in the broader Canadian media context.

Thus, the Canadian mediascape is plagued by a pattern of power convergence, and, if convergence has occurred since the 19th century (Winseck, 2002), then it also supports a *systemic* gap between the ideology of media roles and what the media actually attains in society (Shultz, 2001). However, according to Raboy (1997), this gap between media ideals and attainment is written within the Canadian Broadcasting Act itself by declaring all broadcasting in Canada to provide a public service, regardless of its private sector funding structures and power hierarchies. This is precisely where APTN fits in. It is a private network as far as subscription fees⁸, administration hierarchies and practices, yet the conditions of their license requires APTN to provide a public service: to provide an Aboriginal focus and voice. Therefore, the Canadian mediascape itself creates an interesting space for the APTN as a medium, but also a unique capacity for the content the APTN provides and will provide in future.

Empowerment: Representing Identity and Corporate Framework

A third objective in creating a model of empowerment for Aboriginal people in Canada is the application of 'empowerment' itself. Empowerment is expressed in a variety of ways through various academic disciplines, however, some important

conceptualizations are presented here. The first involves empowerment and Aboriginal Peoples, the second, a set of conditions for development projects and thirdly, a set of criteria for the achievement of the empowerment of individuals in a corporate environment. The last argument compares APTN to Wal-Mart's core-competence model in Goddard (1997). The argument supports APTN as a model of empowerment by following the criteria in White's (2004) five steps of empowerment as a development project, which will be discussed.

The first application of empowerment is presented in an article by Waziyatawin Angela Wilson (2004), who provides an important discussion of Indigenous knowledge recovery⁹ as a source of empowerment for the people involved. She suggests that,

The colonizers taught us that the conquest and "civilizing" of our people was inevitable; that we, too, must give way to "progress." It was hammered into our heads that our Indigenous cultural traditions were inferior to those of Euroamericans and Euro-Canadians, that there was nothing of value in our old ways, and that those ways were incompatible with modernity and civilization (2004: 360).

Wilson's (2004) perspective is a powerful portrayal of colonialism and the subsequent hegemony previously discussed. However, she also notes the recovery of lost knowledge as a form of resistance to such hegemony and suggests it is a form of empowerment. The idea that knowledge recovery, or the re-learning of traditional epistemologies, is an application of empowerment holding significance for the APTN case study. If knowledge recovery is a form of empowerment, and if the APTN provides a network of "sharing stories", then the APTN is a form of knowledge recovery for Aboriginal people in Canada (APTN, 2005a; APTN, 2005b).

Furthermore, Melkote and Steeves (2001) and White (2004) discuss empowerment as a form of development and define it as "a process in which individuals

and organizations gain control and mastery over social and economic conditions, over democratic participation in their communities and *over their own stories*” (Melkote and Steeves, 2001: 37 emphasis added). White (2004) further investigates the notion of empowerment as a form of development in five steps, using the interpretations of several theorists. The first step for development initiatives must begin with *grass roots* communities and organizations. *Grass roots* refers to the participation of the Aboriginal or indigenous group that the empowerment project is meant to affect. Second, the organizations involved can produce their own media but have the *opportunity* to influence the content of the mass media (White, 2004). The third step towards empowerment is “self-reliance” and the severing of ties with other partners and their resource provisions. The fourth step is decentralization, from a central organizational post to more locally run poles. The final step in White’s (2004) empowerment framework suggests multiple paths of development. “This implies a rejection of the modernization thesis, which defines development in terms of an implantation of western rationality and entrepreneurial values” (9). These five steps or characteristics of empowerment shape the APTN case study and suggest the ways in which it may support the argument for an institutional model of empowerment. However it must be noted that White (2004) concentrates on empowerment for nation-building, rather than on an institution, such as the APTN. Yet White (2004) provides an important understanding and application of empowerment as an outcome or goal of some institutions as a complex process. The process of developing the APTN is outlined in Chapter 3 and helps clarify the grass roots history and involvement.

Alternatively, corporate notions of empowerment differ from the definition given by development theorists like White (2004) or Melkote and Steeves (2001) as they deal with empowerment at the individual level. Cartwright's (2002: 5) "guide" to empowerment defines it as the following:

- Empowerment is concerned with releasing the potential of employees to assume greater responsibility.
- Empowerment is a dynamic, three-way process.
- Delegation is not empowerment, but a step along the road to empowerment.
- Empowerment is a process rather than an event, although the latter may be held as a "rite of passage."
- The power available to individuals derives from a number of sources including personality, expertise, position, resources, relationships, and physical strength.
- Authority is the legitimate use of power.
- Delegation refers to the handing down of the responsibility and resources to carry out a task whilst retaining accountability.
- Accountability is the obligation to ensure that something is done, but does not mean that the accountable person has to actually do it.
- Responsibility is the obligation to do something as instructed or requested.

Evidently, empowerment has become one of industry's hottest buzz-words and has been used by corporations for numerous reasons. For example, big businesses, like Wal-Mart, negotiate the empowerment or "core-competence¹⁰" of their employees to enhance commitment to their work, and in turn, increase profits by increasing productivity or quality of services provided¹¹ (Goddard, 1997). In this respect, the notion of empowerment seems as though it is a renegotiation of the worker-role for profit rather than as a process to empower a group or nation of people (Goddard, 1997).

The Wal-Mart example and policies are important in the study involving the APTN because it questions the validity of the institution's values, definitions and, ultimately, the ideals of its mandate if profit is ultimately, the bottom line. White's (2004)

rejection of the modernization thesis of implanting western rationality on development clarifies the type of empowerment APTN informants perceive APTN provides. If the APTN's goals are to gain profit, and the empowerment of those involved increases productivity, then APTN may hold the same capitalist ideals as, Wal-Mart. However, APTN is a not-for-profit public service, funded by cable subscription fees (APTN, 2005c). These details are also outlined by APTN's Chief Financial Officer, Mr. Wilfred Blondé, in Chapter 6. However, the point is that the APTN model of empowerment is not one akin to Wal-Mart in its profit gaining 'empowerment' or "core competence" strategies, but rather one more suited to White's (2004) five-step model, or Wilson's (2004) ideas of knowledge recovery. This is because APTN's empowerment focuses on the empowerment of the larger, Aboriginal Peoples of Canada as well as the APTN informants, which is explored in Chapter 6.

Indigenous Media Production: Australian Case Studies

The fourth objective for identifying a model of empowerment is to discuss similar case studies in Australia. Australia is an important site for indigenous studies with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander Studies (AIATSIS); The Indigenous College of Education and Research; and numerous universities that offer Australian Aboriginal Studies at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Furthermore, Australia is often compared with Canada for its common-wealth association and its similar percentage of Aboriginal populations (3%).

Gibson and Dunbar-Hall (2000) apply empowerment to the case study of radio in Australia's Northern Territory. They indicate the fusion of traditional Aboriginal music with rock sections in the song "Sharing Our Country" (as an example) and the

significance for the Jawoyn people¹² as a process of rebuilding. Exploring new media and the fusion of music styles creates an interesting site of rebuilding or empowering the Jawoyn people. Thus, to the Jawoyn people, empowerment involves mixing traditional genres of music and languages with more modern genres to make their message more widely recognized. The message in this case is the lyrics in the song “Sharing Our Country” which allow communication amongst the Jawoyn and with other cultural groups. In other words, the lyrics of the song are a *tool* for the self-expression of the Jawoyn people.

Similarly, Buchtmann (2000) suggests that the Warlpiri have adopted forms of communication technology to suit their cultural needs. She compares the introduction of satellite television in northern Canada without consultation¹³ with the Inuit with the experiences of the Warlpiri of Yuendumu, Australia. However, in each situation, the Warlpiri of Australia and the Inuit of Canada have since embraced the new forms of communication with vested interest (Chapter 3). Buchtmann (2000) outlines the Warlpiri interest in the media using three phases: “an early interest up until the early 1980s; a second phase where the BRACS¹⁴ system, CAAMA¹⁵ radio and Imparja¹⁶ television came into operation; and the most recent phase where the Warlpiri have adopted the latest digital and on-line technology” (2000: 62). Buchtmann’s findings suggest that the Warlpiri have embraced the new media due to the timing of their incorporation, the availability of suitable people and the need for improved communications. She also highlights that using these new media is a way of resisting the continued effects of colonization and a means of restoring “communication with other Aboriginal groups” (2000:66). Furthermore, the right to communicate and represent the cultural groups

'over-the-air' is an act of self-determination, a power to communicate the messages that the Warlpiri feel are important. Buchtmann's findings highlight the significance of a similar Canadian example, however, as Chapter 3 outlines, the APTN is an even more appropriate example to provide a model of empowerment because it has been founded on the ideology of Aboriginal people and not the ideology of the dominant society (Roth, 2005).

Similarly, Hinkson (2002) examines this same case in Yuendumu, Australia and the Warlpiri. Her conclusion however, suggests that previous attempts to study the Warlpiri's engagement with new technologies of communication fail to reflect the expansion of the parameters to the Warlpiri 'lifeworld' (2002). Hinkson (2002) clarifies that, not only are Aboriginal people controlling their own media, but also that these societies are *changing* to meet the needs of global 'lifeworlds'. Hinkson's (2002) suggestion regarding the effects of media-use is important when engaging with the ideas of sharing cultural interactions in order to maintain traditional ones. It forms a theoretical debate that is important if we are to apply empowerment to a Canadian example.

Meadows and Molnar (2002) emphasize the long history of misrepresentations of Aboriginal Peoples in the Australian context in much the same way as the examples from Voyageur (2001) and Valaskakis (1993, 1994) in North America. Meadows and Molnar conclude that "Indigenous media represent Australia's fastest growing sector" and that it "has emerged as a result of...mainstream media misrepresentation of Indigenous affairs and the desire to appropriate communication technologies as a first level of service for communities" (2002: 19). This is important in highlighting a case study of Aboriginal

people's empowerment by using a medium as a tool for self-expression and representation.

One of the most important figures in the study of Indigenous media and the creation of *space* for empowerment is Faye Ginsburg.¹⁷ Ginsburg (1991, 1994a, 1994b, 2002) clarifies the problems with Aboriginal people employing new media to communicate traditional cultural practices as a Faustian Contract¹⁸. *Faustian Contract* implies that using "non-traditional" media may mean the loss of traditional media to the mainstream global village (1991: 96):

On the one hand, they [indigenous peoples] are finding new modes for expressing indigenous identity through media and gaining access to film and video to serve their own needs and ends. On the other hand, the spread of communications technology such as home video and satellite downlinks threatens to be a final assault on culture, language, imagery, relationship between generations, and respect for traditional knowledge.

Ginsburg's arguments achieve a renegotiation of the powerful global perception of Aboriginal people's identities by considering the changes occurring to the societies affected by new media. Ginsburg continues "to argue that it is of particular importance, now, that these most contemporary of indigenous forms of self-representation and their creators be considered seriously" (1991: 93). Like most anthropologists today, Ginsburg (1991) recognizes that ethnographic films were historically important to portray the disappearing lifeworlds of 'other' peoples and the critique of these films is important to current scholarship. Indigenous media today however, allow for the interpretation of lifeworlds by and for Indigenous peoples, using media tools, like television, for their own purposes and gains.

Later, Ginsburg (1994a) suggests that indigenous media constitute a "discursive space" revealing the diversity of Aboriginal people as "[t]here is no one kind of

Aboriginal person or community” (1994a: 365). Therefore, indigenous media must be understood as a *space* for communication and integration of a plurality of representations. If indigenous peoples are in control of their own media, then Aboriginal Peoples are in control of their own messages of such representations. Ginsburg also suggests the extent to which “the hegemonic reach of state and corporate powers [have] into everyday lives” (1994b: 6). In other words, Ginsberg (1994b) argues that empowerment occurs as a result of using a medium, like television as in the APTN case study presented here, to counteract the hegemony. Thus, Ginsburg (1994a, 1994b) argues that the creation of an indigenous *space* for self-representation can involve the context of empowerment for the peoples affected. APTN may fit into this context by way of a separate medium as the *space*. To date, the provision of such an example in the Canadian context is missing and, thus, it becomes clear that such an example is essential to the discourse on Aboriginal media. Furthermore, these case studies help bring about the final objective of the literature review: the formation of the theoretical debate.

Theoretical Debate

The last objective in the literature for conceptualizing a model involves the theoretical argument in academia concerning indigenous media. On the one hand, there is the argument that global media-use is a form of globalization by expanding the ‘lifeworlds’ of indigenous cultures (e.g. Hinkson, 2002) and threatening cultural traditions (Glynn in Ginsberg, 1991). On the other hand, the argument for empowerment exists where media are implemented by indigenous groups for their own benefit (Ginsberg, 1991, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 2002; Roth, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002a, 2005; Melkote and Steeves, 2001; Buchtman, 2002; Evans, 2002). In this sense, the

representations of indigenous people through television are a significant component of the theoretical literature involving indigenous media.

Outlined in Ginsberg (1991) are descriptions from Aboriginal scholars who believe Aboriginal Peoples involved with mass media production are simply “bargaining with Mephistopheles” as Faust did in Goethe’s play (97). Ginsberg’s (1991: 97) interview with Freda Glynn, the Aboriginal director of the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) and chair of Imparja’s board, expresses the debate:

TV is like an invasion. We have had grog, guns and diseases, but we have been really fortunate that people outside the major communities have had no communication like radio or TV. Language and culture have been protected by neglect. Now, they are not going to be. They need protection because TV will be going into those communities 24 hours a day in a foreign language-English. It only takes a few months and the kids start changing...We’re trying to teach kids you can be Aboriginal and keep your language and still mix in the wider community and have English as well. At least they will be seeing black faces on the magic box that sits in the corner, instead of seeing white faces all day long.

Although Glynn’s perspective is important, the interview took place in July, 1988 and does not include the changes that have occurred to the types of programming on Imparja or the developments of other Aboriginal media which may have had more success in the past 18 years.

Furthermore, Harder (1995: 23) clarifies the debate, similarly to Glynn’s description, as per the Anishinabeg perspectives in Canada:

The paradox is that the media can be crucial in helping Anishinabeg in the struggle for justice, but at the same time the images in the media contribute to the misunderstanding and confusion that is prevalent in the dominant societies.

The debate of medium-use, like television, occurs within Aboriginal circles as an internal struggle. Clarifying this paradox is pertinent to the position of this thesis as it

places the APTN directly within this contextual debate. Support of the empowerment argument is made possible by taking a postmodern perspective on the application of the term “culture” for reconsideration.

Culture is historically the main consideration in anthropology since the discipline’s inauguration to academia in the 19th century. Consequently, anthropologists have since attempted to define the concept of ‘culture’ through theoretical and methodological considerations such as structuralism or cultural relativism, creating a dynamic historical debate (Barrett, 1996). For instance, E.B. Tylor defined culture in 1871 as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (1924 [1871]:1). His definition of culture can now be understood as a ‘modernist’ conceptualization and, for postmodernists, a definition no longer acceptable for contemporary discussions (Knauff, 1996). Postmodernist definitions of culture tend to reflect the idea of ‘identity’ rather than as a set of characteristics and capabilities. “Culture is now best seen not as an integrated entity, tied to a fixed group of people, but as a shifting and contested process of constructing collective identity” (Knauff, 1996:44). This is precisely the theoretical orientation required to negotiate indigenous media-use as a *tool* for empowerment.

The basic premise of postmodernism suggests that academics must critique ‘modernist’ premises of universal cultural theory (Barrett, 1996). Modernism is defined by *post-modernist* theory to mean the historical dominance of the West to describe and interpret other cultures (Barrett, 1996). In anthropology, postmodernism critiques the traditional ethnographic studies by anthropologists and the ability to describe a culture in

an authoritative voice (Barrett, 1996). Consequently, for postmodernists, Tylor's (1924 [1871]) ability to define culture based on beliefs, art, morals and customs is no longer appropriate for the shifting global interactions.

Furthermore, traditional, modernist, definitions of culture came under attack in anthropology, well before the introduction of postmodernism. This debate is known as Galton's Problem¹⁹: "how did Professor Tylor know if the individual societies for which he had data were truly independent cases, rather than being contaminated by diffusion?" (Barrett, 1996: 53) Galton's question lead to a debate about the presumptions of the *authenticity* of cultural representations in ethnography. The idea of *authentic* and separate groupings of cultures based on characteristics and customs are no longer relevant to postmodernist discussions of diversity and cultural identity since the diffusion of cultural tools and art occur as a global phenomenon.

In terms of the current academic debate, this thesis argues that comparing the indigenous use of 'non-traditional' medium, like television, as a mechanism of assimilation employs the modernist definition of culture as 'capabilities and habits'. Television, according to this modernist notion, is not an *authentic* medium of indigenous peoples, and thus, can be argued as a mechanism of globalization or conformity to mainstream culture. As argued, Tylor's (1924 [1871]) definition of culture is no longer accepted in the postmodernist framework because postmodernist definitions involve the construction of *identities*. Therefore, the argument for empowerment through indigenous media must involve postmodernist definitions of culture like that proposed by Knauff (1996).

Thus, if culture is defined through shifting constructions of *identity* rather than as sets of characteristics and habits, then the use of a medium for the purposes of expressing these identities is not a process of conformity to mainstream culture, but rather a *tool* for indigenous empowerment. Applying this idea to the APTN case study clarifies the ways APTN may be a model of this empowerment if it is a *tool* used by and for Aboriginal people in Canada for their own self-identification and representation. Furthermore, such tool-use may allow the hegemonic portrayal of Aboriginal Peoples on television, to change because the images presented on APTN may differ from the images presented on mainstream television.

However, the problem of using the title “Aboriginal” confuses the actual diversity of peoples such a title is meant to represent. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) currently defines “the aboriginal peoples of Canada” to “include the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada” (Statutes of Canada, 1982). However, as Ginsberg suggests “[t]here is no one kind of Aboriginal person or community” (1994a: 365), and not just three groups either. Ginsberg’s (1994) idea that “Aboriginal” refers to a diversity of Aboriginal identities is supported by APTN’s Chief Executive Officer, Jean LaRose. He states: “One thing that I think is the key to what we’re doing...is there is no such thing as Aboriginal Peoples. That’s a creation in some regards. They have lumped us all as one group in the constitution” (Interview October 15, 2005). The context for LaRose’s comment is from the knowledge that ‘Aboriginal Peoples’ is a complex and changing entity based on concepts of *identity* and, as such, the process of representing the varied perspectives of these shared identities are, at the least, complex and difficult. However, LaRose and Ginsberg (1994) support the use of a postmodern definition of

culture as they refer to the plurality of Aboriginal identities. Thus, a postmodernist definition of culture is the most appropriate for the APTN case study as a theoretical construction of the research process. Furthermore, using a postmodernist perspective clarifies informants' understanding of their cultural identities and supports the *reflexivity*²⁰ of this thesis explained in Chapter 4 (71).

Therefore, the APTN provides a model of empowerment of Canada's Aboriginal people if it is able to portray Aboriginal Peoples in alternative ways to the stereotypical images demonstrated in Voyageur's (2001) and Valaskakis' (1993, 1994) accounts in the first objective of this literature review. Furthermore, the APTN case study is also able to support the argument for empowerment, in the theoretical paradox, using a postmodernist definition of 'culture' and applying it to APTN informants' self-identify.

Conclusion

Thus, the construction of a model of empowerment for Aboriginal Peoples in Canada is made possible by the use of the television medium as a tool for self-identification and representation. The theoretical considerations of this thesis are further explored in Chapter 4 but assert that the anthropological study of contemporary indigenous media must use a postmodernist theoretical perspective to evaluate empowerment as a reflexive component to research. Furthermore, the construction of a model of empowerment using television as its medium uses five objectives presented in the literature.

The first objective outlines Gramsci's concept of hegemony and its application to Canada's historical treatment of Aboriginal Peoples. The possibility that APTN may have

the power to alter the hegemony is argued in Chapter 2, using the history of its creation as a grass roots organization.

The second objective summarizes the roles played by the media in Canada and the roles all of the media are meant to play for Canadians. The argument that there exists a performance gap in the Canadian mediascape is presented and suggests the APTN may actually be filling Canada's performance gap.

The third objective in the literature demonstrates the varied interpretations and application of 'empowerment' and its relevance to the APTN case study. This application of empowerment supports the fact that the APTN is not a capitalist industry comparable to Wal-Mart for example, because it is not a private organization. This objective is further emphasized in Chapter 6 through the experiences of the APTN informants themselves.

The fourth objective is to construct a model of empowerment using case studies from Australia. The Australian context emphasizes the use of indigenous media as empowerment tools and use CAAMA, Imparja and other media to support this argument. However, as Roth (2005) argues, CAAMA and Imparja are not comparable media to the APTN in terms of power, and suggests that the APTN is a unique example to explore empowerment.

The final objective of the literature review outlines the construction of a theoretical debate in academia, proposing postmodernism as an appropriate mechanism for supporting the notion of empowerment through media-use. The theoretical considerations are further explored in Chapter 4. As a final analysis, the five objectives presented in the literature help support the idea that the APTN is an institutional model of

empowerment for Aboriginal Peoples in Canada and the results are presented in Chapter 6.

Therefore, the five objectives in the literature review are met in the chapters that follow exploring the development of a research project using the theoretical premises proposed, the historical development explored in Roth (2005) and the reflexive use of APTN interviews to evaluate informant perceptions of their cultural identities and opportunities provided by the APTN. Clearly, the literature proposes a promising exploration of Aboriginal people's empowerment through the use of a medium as a tool.

History of Aboriginal Television in Canada and the Creation of the APTN Chapter 3

The history of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) is a momentous story in the achievements of Aboriginal people in Canada. This chapter will explore the history through the 20th century using the work of Lorna Roth²¹. Roth (1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002a, 2005) outlines the development of First Peoples²² television history in Canada using a six-phase analysis that is primarily formulated around the ideologies of both Aboriginal people and the federal government at each phase. The focus of this chapter is to emphasize significant events that enabled the eventual formation of the APTN and outlines the APTN as a grass roots organization. Furthermore, it becomes clear that the APTN model may be applicable to other international Aboriginal groups seeking similar outcomes to their own communication projects as a tool for self-identification and representation and may suggest the power APTN may have in changing the hegemony presented in the mainstream media.

Phase One – Pre-Northern TV Context (1900-1970)

Phase one of the history of First Peoples television in Canada refers to the period when images of First Peoples were characterized by stereotypical misrepresentations in art and literature. Such images included the representation of northern First Peoples as landscape objects associated with the “frontier”, empty “space”, “white and blank” or uninhabitable and remote (Roth, 1995, 2005). The images, which portrayed Eskimos²³ as “noble savages...primitive” and “uncivilized”, were the romanticized portrayals from Southern Canadians and Americans entering the North (Roth, 1995, 2002a, 2005). In

other words these images were created by non-Aboriginal people from more southern regions of the continent.

Examples of stereotypical images come from early anthropologists like E.B. Tylor (1964 [1865]; 1924 [1871]) who classified humans into 'high' and 'low' cultures. To Tylor, 'low' cultures were considered 'primitive' and, thus, allowed those in 'high' cultures like himself to observe them. Other Euro-Americans/Canadians like Tylor were considered of 'high' culture with the ability to "classify", whereas the First Peoples were able to be "classified" since they were of "low" culture. Thus, Aboriginal Peoples in Canada's north were placed into "various taxonomies outlining the diverse populations of Canada²⁴" (Roth, 1995: 37). Roth (2005) suggests that these types of classifications by academics at the time tell us more about mainstream Euro-Canadian society and politics than they do about First Peoples as they are based on stratified cultural organization, a characteristic of Western social sciences at that time²⁵.

Furthermore, Roth (2005) suggests that the classification process and marginalization of First Peoples, like that in Tylor (1964 [1865]), are instances of *symbolic violence*. Symbolic violence in Roth (2005) means that the visual representations of Aboriginal Peoples at the time did not correspond to the representations Aboriginal people had of themselves, thus, creating misrepresentations and stereotypes of these people. In other words, the voices and expressions of Aboriginal people were being suppressed (symbolic violence) by the valuation of Canadians and Americans living in the south. Roth (1995, 2005) further suggests that this first phase in the development of First Peoples media is a "South to North" portrayal meaning that

Canadians and Americans living further south were responsible for the images portrayed of Northern people.

Another prominent scholar studying in the north was anthropologist Franz Boas who wrote the influential *The Central Eskimo* (1964 [1888]). Boas' ethnography of the 'Eskimo' was significant in characterizing several romantic images of Inuit customs and traditions by insisting that anthropologists are able to remain culturally relative. Postmodern anthropologists have adopted Boas' emphasis on 'relativity'²⁶, but have since taken a more reflexive²⁷ approach to their research evident in contemporary works (Strathern, 1991; Jensen and Lauritsen, 2005).

However, critics of anthropology's return to relativism argues that it is a return to the anthropologist's hierarchical ability to portray the 'other' in any circumstance, under the relativity guise (Barrett, 1996). The claim that anthropologists can remain culturally relative is controversial at best, but the purpose here is to emphasize the hierarchy that is central to this methodology. For instance, Boas became a well-known academic in the field of anthropology and is considered one of the forefathers of the academic discipline, heralding the Cultural Relativism movement at the turn of the 20th century (Barrett, 1996). With such an emphasis placed on the validity of Boas' work at the time, his interpretations and representations of the North were considered credible²⁸. Thus, as Roth (2005) would argue, the credible representations of the 'romanticized' cultures of the North were those portrayed by the South.

The entry of television into mainstream North America in the 1950s solidified the stereotypical images of Aboriginal Peoples. Films such as *Shane* (1953), *The Magnificent Seven* (1960), or *A Fistful of Dollars* (1964)²⁹ all portrayed stereotypical Aboriginal icons

in the plot. Mainstream films using these images helped spread the use of these images with characters like “‘Tonto’ (which means ‘stupid’ in Spanish), the Lone Ranger’s faithful sidekick” (Voyageur, 2001: 165). Emphasizing this point, Roth (1995: 37) clarifies,

In the first half of the twentieth century, written texts, photographs, films, and magazines...represented *ethnographic* data circumscribing the public’s views and images of First Peoples as “other” (emphasis added).

Therefore, the first phase of the history of Aboriginal television presents the use of stereotypical images in academic work and later on television. Roth (1995, 2005) outlines the 70-year use of these images as the first phase of the historical development of the APTN because it represents the time where Aboriginal people first saw the possibility of using the media to represent themselves.

Phase Two - (De) Romancing the First Peoples and Their Territories: The Policy-Makers’ Imaginaries (1968 – 1981)

Phase two of the history of First Peoples broadcasting in Canada is a significant turning point from the initial portrayals of northern Aboriginal Peoples. It is a period in the late 1960s when Aboriginal people in the North realized the potential of television to self-represent and to address their own concerns. As Roth states “First Peoples began to realize the power of the media to erode their cultural strength; at the same time, they saw the media as a potential tool for self-development/empowerment in their struggles against pressures to conform to mainstream values of Canadian society, and as a vehicle for mediating social and race relations” (2002a: 296). In other words, the conceptualization that television may be used as a tool for self-expression shifted from the assimilation ideology of the dominant society.

Roth's (2002a) evaluation concerning the "potential tool for self-development/empowerment" is significant in the discussion of Aboriginal media roles today. The perception that the media provide a means to achieve empowerment, applies to the APTN case study. However, the existence of a national Aboriginal communications organization was a far-off dream during the initial discussions and early stages of developing television as a tool for the empowerment of Aboriginal people.

The 1960s also introduced the first domestic satellite in the world, 'Anik³⁰ satellites' under the Telesat Act (1969), and resulted in government discussions of introducing television to the North (Roth, 2002a). During these discussions the interests from both First Peoples and the federal government converged and made it worthwhile for the government to invest money in Aboriginal community field tests. These interests included the perspective of the Aboriginal people to create community development practices and the federal government's idea for First Peoples to "modernize" and learn skills involving the new technologies. The government further perceived the involvement of northern First Peoples as an economic advantage, because their involvement meant that government officials' traveled less to the North (Roth, 2005). Regardless of the parties' specific interests, the convergence provided a significant step in achieving the final result 30 years later as the APTN in 1999.

After the initial introduction of Anik satellites and the convergence of interests between northern Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian government in 1969, the 1970s was a period of Inuit activism. Several Inuit organizations lobbied for community development practices rising out of the converging interests of Aboriginal Peoples and the federal government. The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) and the Northern Quebec

Inuit Association (NQIA) for instance, were persistent in bringing the organizations' priorities in line with those of the federal government as early as 1973. In summary, both the ITC and the NQIA intervened and participated in application hearings and negotiations, with the Canadian Broadcasting Company's (CBC) Northern Service and CBC management, regarding the Inuit struggle to achieve control over their own communication resources.

A major turning point in the development of Aboriginal television in Canada was the establishment of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) as a result of the struggles by the ITC and the NQIA. The development of the IBC was the first acknowledgment that broadcast production in the North should be the responsibility of peoples in the North. Furthermore, the CRTC licenced the Canadian Satellite Telecommunications Company (Cancom) to deliver southern Canadian programming to the North and "provide carriage for Northern-produced broadcasts" (Roth, 2005). The CBC at this time was also 'expected' to carry native-language programming. However, official policy debates had yet to take place and there were many struggles left as the delivery of southern Canadian programming to the North still emphasized the South to North direction of media messages and imagery.

The IBC had its own set of critiques by several Inuit broadcasting companies already in production like Isuma and independent producers and videographers like Zacharias Kunuk and Paul Apak. Evans, (2002: 316) explains:

The IBC functions hierarchically, like many corporations in the South. There is a central headquarters in Ottawa, where an annual budget of about Canadian \$1.4 million is sought from the federal government and where decisions are made about how and where to spend it. From there, positions increase in number and decrease in authority down to the lowest people on the organizational chart. The system is relatively efficient, and

it makes sense to the government officers who must make budgeting decisions based on the ratio between dollars spent and value received nationwide.

The IBC is a result of the South to North direction of the Canadian media, characteristic of the history thus far, yet it still demonstrates significant Aboriginal participation in the media. Therefore, the conceptual shift from Phase one to Phase two is a drastic step for Aboriginal Peoples and signifies the start of their self-representation. The Aboriginal people involved in the discussions and formal establishment of the IBC clearly attempted to resist the stereotypical ideals and imagery (the hegemony) persisting in Phase one. Furthermore, the convergence of the Aboriginal people's ideal of empowerment with the federal government's initiatives of 'modernization' signifies the theoretical debate in contemporary literature³¹ using the IBC as an example.

Phase two is important to the historical structure of the APTN because it is where contemporary theory is relevant. Some critics of Aboriginal media suggest it is a form of neo-colonialism or globalization (Glynn in Ginsberg, 1991; Harder, 1991; Hinkson, 2002) while others suggest that using such technologies is a form of resistance to these globalizing forces by way of communication (Buchtman, 2000; Gibson & Dunbar-Hall, 2000; Evans, 2002). Thus, the second phase of the history of Aboriginal television in Canada is important to contemporary theory because it provides a case study for the debate and emphasizes the achievements of Aboriginal people's goals of self-representation on television.

Phase Three - Policy-ing the North (1978-1991)

Phase three in the history of First Peoples broadcasting in Canada is the period in which the current Broadcasting Act was introduced and passed in 1991. However the struggles to pass the Act involve a significant and complex set of events.

In 1978, the federal government had not achieved a broadcasting service inclusive of Northern linguistic and cultural content. As a result, First Peoples' community groups in the North developed their own self-organized communication projects. These community groups "demonstrated their administrative and management skills in television production, and expanded technical and community-based knowledge about media use" (2005: 122). These community-based projects could be acknowledged as 'grass roots'³² projects, run by and for the First Peoples community groups (White, 2001; Melkote and Steeves, 2001). Furthermore, these projects signified the successful coexistence of First Peoples self-representation in broadcasting within the Euro-Canadian system in Canada's North. Aboriginal Peoples in the North were actively pursuing policy formation to turn their pilot communication projects into sustainable developments within broadcasting services. However, controversy still prevailed. Some federal bureaucrats felt the ideal of coexisting broadcasting services was positive and progressive while some continued to believe they were threatening to Canadian standards.

Ultimately, First Peoples wanted broadcasting policy to incorporate the needs of Aboriginal Peoples as a landmark in the development of communications in the North. A landmark because formal recognition of First Peoples' distinct status in Canada would be the first attempt to reestablish Aboriginal Peoples to their rightful inclusion in Canadian history. The distinct status of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada recognizes these diverse

peoples as “national, separate, and distinct cultures different from other ethno-cultural and recent immigrant communities” included under multicultural³³ policy (Roth, 2005: 123). Furthermore, enshrining such specific Aboriginal rights into the Broadcasting Act would be a symbol of racial tolerance for Canada.

Phase three also comprises five significant events in the history of Aboriginal television in Canada. These events include: (i) early evidence of CRTC support for northern native broadcasting; (ii) the Therrien Committee Hearings and the report on the extension of service to Northern and remote communities; (iii) the recognition of Aboriginal broadcasting in policy and licensing decisions; (iv) the lobbying strategies directly related to Aboriginal broadcasting as it became recognized in legislation; and (v) the Broadcasting Act of 1991.

First, CBC’s Northern Service supported native lobby groups in their pursuit of changing broadcasting policy and attempted to influence the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) through written letters and briefs. However, the CBC’s Northern Service was under budget restraints and could not comply with the service extensions required for this service, provoking the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) to take initiative with the CRTC on its own accord. As a result, the CRTC commissioners themselves agreed with the necessity for Aboriginal communications in the North but had several questions about responsibility for the design, changes, financing and administration of incorporating a new system. The result was the 1968 Broadcasting Act which placed the financial responsibility for native broadcasting on CBC’s Northern Service which, as mentioned, was already under serious financial constraints.

Second, a public forum was established with the aim of organizing the design and changes to CBC's Northern Service infrastructure, highlighting the 'grass roots' level of participation from Aboriginal Peoples in Canada's North. The outcome of the forum was the Therrien Committee, which was to report on ways of improving television services in Canada's North. This committee was headed by Réal Therrien, then vice-chairman of the CRTC. After a long and drawn out process, the ITC presented a seven-point plan³⁴ for establishing an Inuit broadcasting system. After this, the Therrien Committee Report published 20 recommendations and commenced federal communication policy-making.

Third, the CRTC acknowledged the Therrien report recommendations but the end result conflicted with the ITC's proposal. The ITC suggested that pay-TV revenues be redirected to subsidies for Northern television programming and the CBC argued that Native communications should be a primary objective for funding by the federal government and should not be dependent on the success of pay-TV. Thus, the complexities of the issues were recognized and discussions for a combination of public, private, and community-owned stations had begun.

Fourth, in 1986, there were significant developments for the support of Northern Native broadcasting with reports from the Chaplan-Sauvageau Committee and the Lougheed Evaluation. These reports are a significant factor contributing to First Peoples communications in Canada and are the first documentations of telecommunication services as development plans for the North. As a result, "First Peoples were satisfied with the Native Broadcasting Policy in principle" but the actual enshrinement of Aboriginal communication rights in the legislation was still required (Roth, 2005).

Finally, June 4, 1991 marked the formation of the current Broadcasting Act. This Act applied Canada's commitment to equality rights to Canadian Broadcasting, as per the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Section 15 (1982), the Multiculturalism Act (1988), the Human Rights Act (1976-77), and the Employment Equity Act (1986). The changes to the Act made a significant contribution to the creation of the APTN and its current existence as a unique entity.

Phase Four - Consolidation and Expansion of Broadcasting Infrastructure (1983-1992)

Phase four of the history of Aboriginal broadcasting in Canada overlaps significantly with Phase Three. However, Roth (2005) focuses on the establishment of Television Northern Canada (TVNC) and for the purposes of outlining this phase the focus will also remain on the TVNC.

The federal government's Department of Communications approved the finances and research to explore the concept of a separate Northern channel in 1988. As a result of this research, the department allocated \$10 million for the purposes of establishing the infrastructure for TVNC. The organization and preparation for TVNC occurred onward and, in October, 1991 four months after the formation of the Broadcasting Act, the CRTC approved the TVNC for a network license specifically to serve Canada's Northern peoples (Roth, 2005). CRTC approval meant that the commissioners recognized the importance of Northern-based control over the distribution and production of Northern programming, contrary to the controversial IBC hierarchy in Ottawa headquarters (Evans, 2002). At this point, the TVNC became a tool that allowed Aboriginal people to represent themselves throughout the North: "their efforts at local or regional self-representation and identity building would no longer be restricted by geography or by the

limits of ...technology” (Roth, 2005: 188). Thus, the existence of TVNC *is* the recognition of Aboriginal communication rights and is a crucial component in the development of the APTN eight years later.

Phase Five - Crossing Cultural, Racial, and Territorial Borderlines (1986-1999)

Phase five outlines the important steps taken by Aboriginal people in reaching their goal of self-representation and the ideals of CRTC director at the time, Rod Chiasson. Phase five also involves the eventual creation of the APTN separate from the government’s financial restraints over TVNC funding.

Chiasson’s text, *Ikarut Silakut: Bridges-over-the-air* (1977), conceptualizes a ‘symbolic electronic bridge over the airwaves’ and predates “a time when technologies would make the reconfiguration and bypassing of borders and regulations a reality” (Roth, 2005: 172). Chiasson (1977) outlined a radio service that would link Canada’s North to the South and the North with the North as a ‘common meeting ground’. He suggested links “between and among our peoples of Canada” (excerpt in Roth, 2005: 173). The idea of linking Canadian radio in the North influenced the formation of TVNC and its networked community television broadcasters³⁵ for the same communication purpose and, as such, TVNC was developed specifically for this purpose. Thus, the TVNC was not designed to produce its own media (and still does not) but rather is responsible for the distribution of northern productions. The significance of this is a northern run, Aboriginal group is responsible for their own images, and for distributing them across the country. Furthermore, the ability of the TVNC to broadcast North to North and also North to South opposed the initial South to North portrayals of Aboriginal Peoples evident in the first phases of the history of Aboriginal television.

However, TVNC is still an allocated division of CBC's Northern Service and affected by federal government budget cuts. According to APTN Chief Executive Officer (CEO), Jean LaRose, these budget restraints and continual cut-backs encouraged discussions among TVNC administrators and other Aboriginal leaders regarding the possibility of a separate Aboriginal broadcasting company (Interview, October 17, 2005). This meant that funding opportunities had to develop out of cable subscription fees from the Canadian public rather than from government allocations. Furthermore, "TVNC's pan-Northern successes convinced its board of directors and staff to pursue the establishment of a nationwide network" and the result was a positive vote in June, 1997 (Roth, 2005: 201).

The idea of a nation-wide network was first introduced at the Assembly of First Nations' (AFN) annual general assembly, 1997, and resulted in the Assembly's support. At this point, there was a regular submission of applications to the CRTC, indicating the increased interest in a national Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) among Aboriginal groups and broadcasters. TVNC hired the public opinion consulting firm, Angus Reid, to poll a sample of adult Canadians for an audience survey. This survey asked the 1,510 member sample about the desirability of establishing a network like APTN. The results of this survey acknowledged that "79 percent of Canadians supported the idea of a national aboriginal TV network, even if this would mean displacing a service already being offered" (Roth, 2005: 201).

Other steps of APTN's development included the CRTC Public Notice 1998-8 (1998) which responded positively to the survey data, meaning TVNC could then start discussing the prospect of going national. TVNC decided that, in order to be separate

from government funding, APTN would have to acquire what is called 'mandatory carriage', meaning this service would be available to over eight million Canadian households served by cable, including ExpressVu, Star Choice and Look TV. Mandatory carriage implies that the network *must* be a channel available to all basic cable subscribers across Canada. It is a special status because it includes only three other broadcasting networks: TVA, the federal government parliamentary channel and the channel for the hearing impaired (Interview Tim Kist, October 13, 2005). Gaining mandatory carriage status also meant a regular income of subscription fees and the TVNC requested that cable providers charge \$0.15 per household, per month for the provision of APTN services.

Over 300 letters from the general public were sent to the CRTC encouraging the license for the channel as well as some from existing Native communication societies. However, there were also letters from opposing organizations, challenging the content of Northern representation. Such organizations included community groups in the North who opposed the southern control of the IBC from Ottawa in the first place and argued that a national television network would have the same results (Evans, 2002). Likewise, Northern Native Broadcasting Yukon (NNBY) worried that, with a national network, the representation of Northern communities would be overshadowed by southern Aboriginal cultures,

NNBY can support this application only if APTN guarantees continued Northern ownership and control of the network, that majority control will remain with its founding Northern members, and that decision-making will continue to require a majority of TVNC's founding members' support to proceed. (Letter from NNBY in Roth, 2005: 203).

TVNC agreed to these conditions with the formation of a professional workshop that promised that fair and equitable board of director structures would be part of the process. Further challenges to the formation of the APTN existed, most notably from cable operators (Roth, 2005):

In short, most cable operators did not accept the argument that First Peoples, amounting as they do to under 3 percent of the national population, should have either a special status or a mandatory national channel in Canada. The CCTA said that it “supported the concept of the network but not the insistence that it be offered as part of the basic cable service” (F-5). In other words, cable operators regarded APTN as they would any other specialty channel.

However, regardless of the resistance from cable operators and others, the CRTC approved TVNC’s application for the APTN on February 22, 1999, as a mandatory carriage channel with a \$0.15³⁶ monthly subscription fee in the South.

The initial impact of APTN was a mix of editorial reviews in the Canadian Press, significantly those supporting the arguments of cable providers. For instance, the *National Post*, February 23, 1999 published the headline “COMING SOON TO YOUR LIVING ROOM: The CRTC is forcing a new aboriginal TV channel – and its cost – on most Canadian cable viewers” (Roth, 2005). The *National Post*’s indication that the CRTC is “forcing” something on Canadian viewers is not a demonstration of the 79 % of the population who support the idea of APTN. Another criticism of APTN’s launch included British Columbia’s *Province* (1999: A36) article “Consumers Should Decide What They Want to Watch”. This article supports the perspective of the cable operators that the APTN should not have mandatory carriage status. Furthermore, the article explains that the decision to have this channel should be under the same guidelines as their specialty channel selection options (Roth, 2002: 304). Specialty channels are

selected by the subscriber as an additional fee to their basic cable which is also more economical for the cable operators.

Roth (2005) suggests the *National Post* editorial raises issues surrounding liberal tolerance and multiculturalism “when a subject/ person/ community is absent from our visible and conscious landscape and when what is outside of the purview of our senses can be faded out of our world of social relations” (2005: 207-208). In other words, the need for a national network, like APTN, was not a concern of some media, based on the *invisibility* of Aboriginal Peoples on mainstream television. Invisibility refers to the lack of Aboriginal representation on television described in Chapter 2. Roth (2005) suggests that the presence of APTN among the media made the issue of intolerance more difficult to mask because it made Aboriginal Peoples visible. The APTN brought Canadians face to face “with a constituency group whose values and programming qualities are significantly different from those of mainstream Canadian television” (2005: 208). The perspectives of the cable providers and the newspapers refute the need for the APTN based on the invisibility of Aboriginal Peoples on television.

However, regardless of the negative coverage of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network in the media and the criticism received by cable providers, APTN launched at 8:00 pm on September 1, 1999, marking a first of firsts³⁷ for the world (Roth, 2005). The momentous event of the APTN launch signifies a long and drawn out success story for institutional Aboriginal empowerment. The efforts of all parties involved are responsible for the creation of APTN. The final phase suggests the changes occurring at APTN and its potential as an example for the rest of the world in terms of an international perspective.

Phase Six – An International Turn (1992 – present)

The final phase of the history of Aboriginal television in Canada deals with APTN's future in an international context. This section outlines the numerous program exchanges from other Aboriginal networks around the world. Most significant are the opportunities for other organizations to visit the APTN head office to get a first-hand look at APTN as a model for similar projects around the world.

Weiner (1997: 197) summarizes the general implications of Aboriginal media and the ways indigenous peoples "have utilized visual self-representation as a mode of empowerment; political assertion and cultural revival in the face of western cultural and economic imperialism". As such, Buchtmann (2000), Ginsberg (1993) and Meadows and Molnar (2002) discuss the successes of the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) as an Aboriginal programming network. However, according to Roth (2005), *Imparja* (CAAMA's television service) broadcasts mostly to non-Aboriginal viewers and consequently its programming tends to be fairly European-oriented. To date, TVNC and APTN broadcast the highest volume of Aboriginal programming in the world (Roth, 2005). This suggests that APTN is second-to-none in the international context for Aboriginal programming content and indicates the uniqueness of APTN as a model of empowerment. If APTN provides a service that is unavailable elsewhere in the world, clearly it is an important case study for supporting the theoretical debate on the side of empowerment rather than as a form of globalization.

APTN is also able to share video connections with Aboriginal groups in other countries through uplink/ downlink satellite arrangements (Roth, 2005). APTN broadcasts international programming several hours a week, informing viewers about the

similar political conditions of other Aboriginal groups around the world (See also Chapter 6). The future of the APTN, according to Roth (2005: 218), is:

As APTN becomes more widely known, I believe that it will attract and engage in exchanges with dedicated niche audiences who will want to be in touch with indigenous peoples in other parts of the world. In an expanded version of Rod Chiasson's early cross-cultural perspective, APTN staff, envision a multicultural/ multiracial, multilingual, international indigenous, or Fourth World television broadcasting undertaking in which they will play a central coordination role.

During the interview process of this project, similar sentiments were found among several informants, but not as a consensus. Conversely, the direction APTN is currently taking may be towards the local. According to numerous informants, APTN is currently working towards expanding its North and South programming feeds into four feeds: North, South, East and West as well as increasing its staff size all over the country to better represent the local Aboriginal groups in those areas. Programming feeds refer to the scheduling of programs specific to the cultural regions of the Aboriginal group that may be most interested in the program. For instance, one of the main concerns of TVNC in developing the APTN was the decrease of Inuit programming in the schedule to make room for other cultures to be represented. As a result, APTN has two simultaneous feeds that occur for the North and the South. The Northern feed is specific to the requirements of Canada's northern Aboriginal Peoples and the Southern feed is specific to Canada's southern Aboriginal Peoples. The development of East and West feeds would further serve to localize the national network's ability to represent Aboriginal Peoples. Furthermore, these feeds are considered 'simulcasts' and, thus, can fuse together and schedule the same episode or program and then break apart at other times, increasing the time-availability of region-specific programs.

The most significant point regarding the international future of the APTN may be the fact that several international media groups and organizations have visited the APTN head office in Winnipeg and have consulted with staff about the company's structure, goals and struggles (Interview). Thus, according to informants, Jean LaRose, CEO and Tim Kist, Director of Marketing, multiple international organizations perceive APTN as a possible case study to develop similar media projects in their respective countries.

Summary and Critical Analysis

The formulation of the historical phases of Aboriginal Broadcasting in Canada holds theoretical significance for a model of empowerment (Roth 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002a, 2005). Roth (2005) identifies the history of Aboriginal broadcasting as a unique development in Canada and is able to provide guidance for prospective groups wishing to achieve similar outcomes like the success of the APTN.

In the first phase, there is clear indication of Aboriginal Peoples' subordination to the perspectives and representations of southern Canadians and Americans. This phase demonstrates that representations on television created solid notions of stereotypical 'Indians' and 'Eskimos' that persist in mainstream cultural contexts when Aboriginal people are not involved. The second phase indicates the shift in Aboriginal people's evaluation of the roles media played in their subordination and sought to utilize the media for their own purposes. This shift in ideology from traditional practices to organized resistance formalizes the theoretical debate presented in academia: the use of technological communication tools as a process of globalization and assimilation or as a process of empowerment required for marginalized voices to be heard and shared in the discourse?

However, it is in the third stage that organizations such as the ITC and others begin to actively pursue this voice for empowerment. The active pursuit of empowerment that defines the second phase is crucial to the understanding that the APTN was created in a country with a history of assimilation. The third stage indicates the 'grass-roots' indicator of an empowerment project, whereas 'grass-roots' refers to the active participation of the affected group in the development process (White, 2001; Melkote and Steeves, 2001). The "grass roots" history of the APTN is an important point when accepting White's (2004) five-point analysis of empowerment in development projects (Chapter 2). The history of Aboriginal television in the second phase clearly indicates both Aboriginal Peoples involvement and the achievement in their goals.

The fourth stage indicates the importance of Television Northern Canada (TVNC) as a result of the changes to the Broadcasting Act (1991) to include Aboriginal Peoples' communication rights. However, the creation of TVNC as a component of CBC's Northern Service also indicates the continued financial problems if Aboriginal programming is the sole responsibility of the government, and the reasons the continued struggle to develop a network separate from government funding.

The fifth phase indicates Roth's (2005) theoretical interpretation that Aboriginal Television is a 'cross-cultural bridge' as suggested in the APTN mandate (APTN, 2005a). This notion emphasizes the debate that Aboriginal television is either a process of globalization meant to further assimilate these groups or that it is a practice in empowerment to overcome these obstacles³⁸.

As a theoretical component, accepting the postmodern reflexive methodology for interpreting research means accepting that "[r]esearch ... is therefore not about

representing the given, so much as about participating in the construction of the new” (Jensen and Lauritsen, 2005: 64). What this means in the context of a ‘cross-cultural bridge’ is that it is possible to deconstruct the idea that media-use is a component that may define *culture*. This may be achieved by employing Strathern’s (1991) reflexivity and McLuhan’s (1964[1994]) ability to question existing constructions, and allowing the re-determination of *authentic* Aboriginal culture using their own interpretations and representations³⁹.

Historically E.B. Tylor and other early anthropologists have defined *culture* to be about such things as cooking techniques, marriage patterns, or tool-use. The problem with defining culture as such is commonly discussed as Galton’s Problem⁴⁰, a theoretical issue in anthropology dealing with the limits of cultural boundaries. Galton questioned the ability of the anthropologist (or anyone for that matter) to identify the limits of a culture or where one culture begins and the other ends. Furthermore, it questions the use of tools to diffuse into other cultures. The sharing of technology, strategy, customs and traditions are a historical phenomenon of world societies, not refuted here. Defining culture based on these capabilities and habits is false by suggesting that the *authenticity* of a culture is not based on the use of a medium technology, like television.

Postmodernists (and symbolic interactionists) have redefined culture to include *identity*. Knauff suggests, “[c]ulture is now best seen not as an integrated entity, tied to a fixed group of people, but as a shifting and contested process of constructing collective identity” (Knauff, 1996:44). Thus, the use of a technology, such as television, is not an appropriate means to define a culture, as per Tylor’s definition. The individual or group perceptions of themselves and their identities are what define their culture. Thus, Roth’s

(2005) suggestion that the APTN provides a 'cross-cultural bridge' means that the APTN is a *tool* to represent Aboriginal cultures, rather than as a defining characteristic of Aboriginal culture.

The final phase demonstrates the potential global context and future of the APTN. The most important aspect is that APTN is currently being investigated by international groups seeking guidance in constructing similar telecommunication projects. Furthermore the final phase develops the future scope of the APTN on both an international and local scale and the continual benefit to Aboriginal Peoples this network intends to provide.

However, by conceptualizing the history of Aboriginal broadcasting in Canada through phases rather than a set of chronological events, it raises the issue of clarity. Throughout Roth's work (1995-2005), there are different levels of analysis for these phases, varying from brief outlines to detailed chapters. The analysis is made more difficult by overlapping dates and events. For instance, Roth's (2005) chapters differ from the six-phases in the introduction on page 20. The chapter titles describe different events and circumstances of each stage, rather than dividing the chapters by the phases themselves. Arguably Roth (2005) acknowledges this complexity, yet continues to utilize the problematic chapter organization.

Furthermore, Roth's (2005) historical rendition is tedious, although jam-packed with detail. The importance of having such detail in this work is understood, yet sorting through the various dates and overlapping theoretical constructs proves difficult when reading the text. For the reader's benefit, it would be wise to provide an event list with dates in the appendix of the text. What's more, is the lack of clarity within the

appendices as to Roth's understanding of the table data involving Anik Satellite distribution and its various feeds, or their use in her final analysis. As a result of this clarity issue, a chronological list of APTN Milestones is located in Appendix G.

Roth's (2005) fifth phase regarding the international turn of the APTN, is also somewhat problematic. Her final section lacks the inclusion of the international perspective of Aboriginal media, specifically Ginsberg's perspective. Although Ginsberg's arguments (1992 and 1993) are present, there are many other influential sources missing. Ginsberg is most recognized for her theoretical investigation of Aboriginal media in Australia and is important to any study evaluating Indigenous media or their histories throughout the world (Buchtman, 2000; Hinkson, 2002; Evans, 2002; Meadows and Molnar, 2002; Wilson, 2004). Incorporating Ginsberg's latest works and other studies would have supported Roth's (2005) international scope. However, it is important that Roth's discipline is communications studies and Ginsberg is an anthropologist, perhaps relevant for the exclusion.

Conclusion

There are a number of milestones⁴¹ in the creation of the APTN signifying its importance and power in the Canadian media. Roth (2005) outlines these specific events yet, ends her analysis at the creation of the APTN and only speculates about its future. This thesis is developed as a result of the limited academic work available on the APTN.

Most concretely, APTN is founded as a grass roots organization meant to benefit Aboriginal people in Canada. Identifying the APTN as a grass roots project supports the APTN as a model of empowerment based on White's (2004) five points developed in Chapter 2 (6). Since APTN is a product of the achievement of Aboriginal people's goals

for self-representation in the Canadian media, it is understood to be a powerful tool for their self-representation.

The history of Aboriginal television in Canada and the creation of the APTN highlight the many challenges Aboriginal Peoples have faced in the development of their own broadcasting goals. This chapter deals with a span of 30 years, over which Aboriginal Peoples in the North struggled through legislative and ideological challenges, eventually achieving their goals of self-representation on television, using their own separate medium. Thus, the creation of the APTN is the climax to this 30 year history and the achievement of Aboriginal Peoples' rightful position in Canadian broadcasting. Sharing Aboriginal people's stories and struggles across the country has the overwhelming potential to benefit this traditionally marginalized group and indicates the momentous power Aboriginal people have gained in the Canadian media.

The future of the APTN may be even more exciting than the past. The renewed CRTC license in September, 2005 increased its 0.15\$ per household subscription fee to 0.25\$ and is guaranteed for the next seven years (CRTC Decision 2005-445, 2005). According to Chief Financial Officer, Wilfred Blondé, APTN is in fine financial form and will continue to grow in both staff and program success. The new budget will further support the already growing Aboriginal production industry, increasing the quality and quantity of productions. Ultimately, APTN is a primary support mechanism for a media market, encouraging Aboriginal people's participation in this sector. Increased numbers of industry positions may encourage colleges and universities to promote Aboriginal student enrollment in television production fields or Aboriginal people may perceive

these opportunities for career advancement. Many informants at the APTN already see this occurring at their own schools and in their own experiences.

Ultimately, APTN provides a unique opportunity for Aboriginal people in Canada to benefit from their historical struggles. Some staff informants indicated that they were a part of APTN's initial development and were positive about its future growth. Many believe that APTN is already making its way into the homes of non-Aboriginal Canadians, and changing their perspectives on Aboriginal identity. The possibility that APTN may actually be able to provide a means to change the hegemonic ideology concerning Aboriginal Peoples is unquestionable as APTN is a tool developed through grass roots involvement with an unprecedented power in the Canadian media.

Theoretical Framework: Reflexive, Constructivist Postmodernism Chapter 4

The objective of this project is to examine the Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN) as a model of empowerment. This objective is achieved using the reflexive, constructivist theoretical approaches of anthropologist Marilyn Strathern (1991) and communication theorist Marshall McLuhan (1967, 1994 [1964], 1996). In order to clarify this theoretical approach, this chapter is presented in six sections, applying each to the APTN case study: (i) a general outline of postmodernism; (ii) the debate regarding Aboriginal media as outlined in Chapter 2; (iii) Gramsci's use of 'hegemony'; (iv) a summary and critique of Strathern's *Partial Connections* (1991) and the mathematical model employed by Strathern (1991) to support her argument for *partials*⁴² or *fractals*⁴³ in anthropological methodology; (v) a summary of McLuhan's theoretical contributions regarding television and (vi) the last outlines the five points that framework the APTN as an institutional model of empowerment which will be elaborated in Chapter 6.

Postmodernism

Clarifying the theoretical framework of this thesis requires a general outline of 'postmodernism' as a critical perspective in academia. According to Barrett (1996), postmodernism surfaced in the 1960s and challenged authoritative scholarship in many academic disciplines, specifically the structuralism of 20th century anthropology. Postmodernism challenged the historical development of anthropology as a 'science' and introduced a "renewed emphasis on relativism" first introduced in Boas' Cultural Relativism of the early 20th century (Barrett, 1996: 153). The basic premise of postmodernism is that the studies of society and culture are *not* organized around a

concrete (whole) set of rules or laws, like the physical sciences, and must not be considered a science at all (1996). Since scientific studies approach the application of rules and laws at a universal level, arguably what structural anthropologists have attempted in the past, the postmodernist turns towards relativism, denounces the universal application of cultural structures, and argues for their critical deconstruction.

Among postmodernists, the dismissal of anthropology as a 'science' is a continual point of debate. Within this debate, there are two major schools of thought: the British school of Social Anthropology which views the discipline as a social science (arguably more aligned with French structuralism) and the American school of Cultural Anthropology which views the discipline as one of the humanities (Knauff, 1996). This debate is unnecessary for the purpose of this thesis, however, it is important to note that postmodernists are not in agreement with the direction the theoretical approach is to take. As a result, Strathern's (1991) arguments that are used in this thesis fall more within the British school of thought as reflexive⁴⁴ anthropology, rather than the cultural relativity of the United States.

Clifford and Marcus's *Writing Culture* (1986) may characterize the inauguration of postmodernism in anthropology because it first critiqued the methodological implications of traditional ethnography 'as text' (Barrett, 1996). Barrett's (1996: 155) account of Clifford and Marcus suggests "[e]thnographies are fictional...in the sense that they are partial constructs, incomplete images of the world as interpreted by the ethnographer, rather than in the sense of being false or fanciful". The idea of *partials* in postmodernism attempts to critique anthropology as a science where *partial* refers to

knowledge as incomplete and relative to the cultural conditions and histories of the individual proposing such knowledge (Strathern, 1991).

Furthermore, postmodernists critique the power dynamic of 'Western' knowledge and its influence on ethnography. Since anthropology has historically identified 'other' cultures as inferior in a hierarchical sense (e.g. Tylor, 1964 [1865]) postmodernists define this period of history as 'modernity'. Modernity is, therefore, the period of time when 'Western' knowledge was considered universal and evidence of its application is present in the dominant hegemonic ideals of the time⁴⁵ (also in White, 2004). In the Canadian Aboriginal context, the application of 'Western' knowledge was assimilation -- systematically administered through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development⁴⁶. Hence, *post-modernity*, is a rejection of modernity's history of categorizing peoples and their culture, as well as the dismissal of the hierarchical influence of 'Western' knowledge (Barrett, 1996). Thus, postmodernism allowed the critique of 'Western' knowledge as a power hierarchy and postmodern anthropologists today insist on projects that allow for the 'deconstruction' of these power hierarchies (Strathern, 1991; Jensen and Lauritsen, 2005).

Therefore, although there is debate regarding the role of postmodernism in contemporary academia, there is no question that it has had a large influence on the way in which academics presently evaluate their work. For the purposes of this thesis, postmodernism is employed as a methodological approach to deconstruct the power hierarchies between the researcher and the informants and to allow the voices and interpretations of the informants to be presented.

The next section presents a debate in academia using a postmodernist interpretation for its evaluation. This particular framework allows the deconstruction of Aboriginal Peoples' cultural identities as perceived by the West and reconstructs these identities based on Aboriginal self-perception.

Academic Debate: Empowerment or Globalization?

The theoretical debate regarding Aboriginal media suggests it is a paradox. On the one hand, there are academics who believe that the Aboriginal media are examples of empowerment and resistance to globalization and conforming processes (Ginsberg, 1991, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 2002, Meadows and Molnar, 2002; Melkote and Steeves, 2001; Evans, 2002; Wilson, 2004; White, 2004). *Empowerment* refers to the marginalized Aboriginal Peoples' ability to gain political or social power in order to resist the continuing domination of 'Western' or mainstream culture (Evans, 2002). On the other hand, there are academics who understand Aboriginal communities which utilize 'non-traditional' media, such as television, are a result of globalization and see these groups conforming to mainstream society (Hinkson, 2002). Ginsberg (1991) highlights the debate using an allegory to a 'Faustian Contract'⁴⁷. However, Ginsberg supports the notion that Aboriginal media, if run for and by Aboriginal people with the goal of self-representation and communication, is a *tool*⁴⁸ for Aboriginal empowerment.

However, the alternate side of the debate is important because it critiques the roles media play in a contemporary global existence. For instance, Hinkson (2002) suggests that Aboriginal media, like the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA), demonstrate the changing peripheries of Aboriginal lifeworlds when they use television to communicate. A *Lifeworld* refers to the social, political and institutional

factors that make up a cultural group. Hinkson (2002) also suggests that Ginsberg (1991, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 2002) is correct in her support for Aboriginal communication in general however, she further suggests that researchers should not dismiss 'non-traditional' medium-use, like television, as a form of globalization and conformity to mainstream culture. Hinkson's (2002) critique is essential if researchers are to interpret media-use appropriately. Her argument allows researchers to probe the objectives of those involved in medium-use and the effects the medium may have in the global scale. Hinkson's (2002) critique of media for empowering Aboriginal peoples is a serious point of contention for development projects because it critiques the idea of using western media for the benefit of non-western societies.

Aboriginal media are examined throughout the literature as a process of development. The theoretical paradox is a question of whether media-use is a process of empowering Aboriginal people to self-represent and express or whether it is a process of assimilation into the mainstream, global culture. However, the notion of *development* itself has, over time, changed from the hierarchical 'West knows best', top-down approach to requiring the participation⁴⁹ of the groups the projects are meant to aid (Roth, 2002b). The new shift towards participatory research is a postmodernist development strategy with the goal of empowerment because it allows the involvement of indigenous or *other* knowledge rather than the traditional application of Western knowledge. Melkote and Steeves (2001) and White (2004) define empowerment as a grass roots "process in which individuals and organizations gain control and mastery over social economic conditions, over democratic participation in their communities and *over their own stories*" (Melkote and Steeves, 2001: 37 emphasis added). *Grass roots* refers to the

participation of the Aboriginal or indigenous group the empowerment project is meant to affect. By involving the affected group in the decision making process, it allows the group's voice to be heard, potentially ensuring more attainable and culturally applicable strategies for their development (Roth, 2002b). Thus, empowerment is the result of a grass roots development projects created by and for Aboriginal people.

Furthermore, postmodernists deconstruct the traditional meanings of accepted concepts as a critique of Western hierarchy. For instance, postmodernists deconstruct the traditional understanding of what constitutes an *authentic* representation of Aboriginal Peoples. *Authentic*⁵⁰ refers to the use of artefacts and images to portray an entire culture. As noted earlier, museums have the specific role in displaying authentic artefacts that are meant to represent the culture or a specific historical period. A museum does not have the space, or the capacity to represent a culture or a specific historical period in its entirety, therefore it is entrusted to best represent the culture. Thus, the spectator or museum visitor is expected to fill in the gaps for the missing information. The individuals responsible for filling in the gaps will then base their own constructions on their own preconceived ideas. If these ideas happen to coincide with those presented in mainstream media, then stereotypical representations may prevail. For an example of the problems with representing authentic versions of culture, refer back to the case presented in Valaskakis (1993: 284), regarding a tribute by Coco Fusco (presented in Chapter 2, page: 13).

Using Valaskakis' (1993) example supports the problem of representing a culture that is traditionally marginalized and stereotyped in the media. However, using a postmodernist framework to deconstruct the idea of *authentic* accepts that representations

of cultures are always *partial*. By deconstructing the stereotypical versions of Aboriginal people's identities, they may also deconstruct what is meant by *authentic* portrayals. Thus, an authentic portrayal of a culture can no longer be formulated based on artefacts and images alone and using a 'non-traditional' medium does not affect the authenticity of a cultural group because the media is not a defining characteristic of a culture.

Furthermore, the suggestion that medium-use is a *tool* for self-representation rather than as a mechanism for conforming to mainstream culture involves deconstructing the perception of *culture*. For instance, Knauff's definition of culture as a shifting process of constructing identity (1996). If researchers can accept that Aboriginal cultures are based on shifting identities, not artifacts and tools, then they may accept that medium-use is not a process of conforming to mainstream culture. In other words, medium-use is not a valid means for defining culture, meaning a culture is not conforming to another culture by-way-of tool-use.

Thus, the APTN case study, as a grass roots development and as a tool for the self-representation of Aboriginal people, can be interpreted as a model of empowerment rather than as a process of assimilation. The theoretical debate signifies the importance of the APTN case study in terms of this historical treatment of Aboriginal people in Canada. This treatment is argued as part of the hegemony of assimilation present in the early to mid twentieth century.

Hegemony: Gramsci's Construct

The hegemonic ideology of the identities of Aboriginal Peoples is presented in Chapter 2. However, hegemony is pertinent to the theoretical considerations of empowerment and must be emphasized. For Gramsci, the function of 'hegemony' is the

dominant group's exercise of its ideological command over society. Gramsci's (1971:

12) hegemony arises in a society by:

3. The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is "historically" caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.
4. The apparatus of state coercive power which "legally" enforces discipline on those groups who do not "consent" either actively or passively. This apparatus is, however, constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of moments of crisis of command and direction when spontaneous consent has failed.

As noted in Chapter 2, the first postulate of Gramsci's hegemony expresses the *historical* construction of Aboriginal identities and the second postulate is evident in such *legal* administration imposed by Duncan Campbell Scott and other ministers of Indian Affairs and Northern Development throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The significance of discussing hegemony in the APTN context is that APTN provides an example of Aboriginal empowerment that may help change the hegemonic ideals by using television to send out their messages.

Reflexive, Constructivist Postmodernism: Strathern

The reflexive, constructivist postmodernism applied in this thesis is borrowed from anthropologist Strathern and her text *Partial Connections* (1991). Strathern (1991) applies postmodernist concepts of *plurality* and *partiality* to the methodology of academic projects. *Plurality* refers to the multitude of perspectives individuals may have on the same situation, and *partiality* refers to these perspectives as incomplete. Strathern (1991) employs the model of 'Cantor's Dust'⁵¹, to express partiality, a basic model of Mandelbrot's (1982) fractal⁵² geometry and Gleick's (1988) chaos of science. Like all

disciplines, mathematics is also influenced by postmodernism, which in this case promoted the use of mathematical fractals, or partials in geometric calculations⁵³. Cantor's Dust, which originated in the late 19th century by scientist Cantor, is a powerful model that demonstrates the flawed mathematical calculations when fractals are not taken into account (Mandelbrot, 1982). Strathern (1991) applies fractals to anthropology by acknowledging both the knowledge of the anthropologist and of the informant as a set of fractals or partials. The incomplete knowledge of the anthropologist is also connected to the incomplete knowledge of the informant. In other words knowledge is constructed out of relative histories not out of complete or whole concepts. Knowledge is fractal/ partial (Strathern, 1991).

As a constructivist, Strathern (1991) suggests that knowledge is constructed rather than being a set of truths awaiting discovery. This is often the perspective of academics, like Hall (1997), in the cultural studies discipline. Thus, according to constructivists, knowledge is based on relative perspectives, senses, historical and cultural backgrounds. These constructions, according to Strathern (1991), must be acknowledged in academic projects, specifically those involved with descriptions of the 'other', most evident in traditional ethnographies (Barrett, 1996). Strathern (1991) achieves this constructivist perspective by employing ethnographic examples. She critiques the historical use of ethnography to imply true or *authentic* descriptions of peoples' cultural lives and suggests that academics should examine ethnographies as *partial* portrayals.

Throughout any research project, According to Strathern (1991), there are constant changes in *scale* to discuss the object or subject of study. For Strathern (1991), *scale* refers to the partially connected concept that the anthropologist, or human, is

currently discussing, whether the global or local (return to Appendix D: Cantor's Dust). It is *partial* because this concept can not be fully understood as a whole, and *connected* because it is *extending* out of the human from which it is being discussed. Furthermore, all forms of communication, according to Strathern (1991), are *extensions* of the individual or group communicating them. They are partial and they are connected to the histories and contexts of the person or people from which they are derived.

Strathern (1991) also uses *extension* interchangeably with *tool*. She defines them using her ability to be both anthropologist and feminist. “[W]hen I think of myself as an anthropologist, feminist scholarship becomes an aid or tool; it introduces thoughts I would not otherwise entertain” (1991: 39). In the APTN case, programming cannot only be perceived as an extension of the Aboriginal voices that are represented on the network, but also as a tool for portraying these identities. Thus, APTN is a tool for which Aboriginal self-expression and representation is an extension of Aboriginal voice(s).

Strathern's (1991) reflexivity is pertinent to the critiques of cultural relativity and ethical considerations of investigating 'other' cultures. For instance, one of the main concerns of postmodernists, and critics of postmodernism, is the theory's “renewed emphasis on relativism” (Barrett, 1996: 153 above). In terms of the ethical treatment of humans, critics of postmodernism suggest that relativity means there is no universal consensus of justice -- that the treatment of humans should be based on their cultural beliefs and not universal standards. Thus, if the treatment of humans is *relative* to the culture with which they identify then what must be done to escape the critique of relativity?

For this critique, Strathern (1991) suggests the need for *reflexive* projects in the investigation of culture and society. *Reflexivity* refers to the constant renegotiation of both the researcher's role and voice in the process as well as the role and voice of the participants, to constantly evaluate the power dynamic between the two (Strathern, 1991). The inclusion of the perspectives of the anthropologist and the informants allow a more dynamic, but still *partial* perspective on the research. Thus, this perspective includes the voices of the participants in a dialogue and not just a hierarchical domination of researcher over researched as in the tradition of the ethnography (Strathern, 1991).

Reflexivity also allows researcher insight into the issues and informant histories and cultural ideologies, formulating a more fluid interpretation of the subject. Furthermore, this methodology allows a more critical and valid direction to constructing the study because reflexivity bases its construction on the perspective(s) of those the study is meant to affect (Jensen and Lauritsen, 2005). Reflexivity also makes conscious the role of the researcher and enables a constant evaluation of the researcher's perspectives as well as those supplied by the informants which is considered in the methodology chapter (Chapter 5). Thus, reflexive methodology allows a critical evaluation of the research where the researcher gives credit to the informant and her own perspectives. Therefore, reflexivity provides support for postmodernism because it makes the research process a conscious evaluation of *partial* perspectives.

Applying the APTN in such a reflexive and constructivist approach requires the involvement of individuals at the APTN. Chapter 6 presents some of the responses of APTN participants acknowledging the partiality of their own cultural identities and the construction of 'Aboriginal Peoples' identities. Researchers must acknowledge that

identity changes from day to day depending on the individual or group's perspective at the time, as in Knauff (1996). Therefore, the methods employed in this study are a result of this reflexivity in hopes of achieving a more critical study.

Thus, APTN participants have an important reflexive component in shaping the perspectives of empowerment in this study. The results of the study presented in Chapter 6 demonstrates the APTN as a tool for empowerment through the informants' perspectives and insights.

Postmodern Analysis: McLuhan

The second theorist, McLuhan, ties the reflexive anthropology of Strathern (1991) to communication studies that is pertinent to examining APTN as an institutional model of empowerment. McLuhan's (1994) postmodernism allows researchers to look at mass media in unique ways (Federman, 2005). In terms of television, McLuhan explains how "[e]verybody experiences far more than he [or she] understands. Yet it is experience, rather than understanding, that influences behaviour, especially in collective matters of media and technology where the individual is almost inevitably unaware of their effect upon him" (1994: 318). McLuhan's statement of television's role supports Gramsci's construction of hegemony. According to McLuhan (1994), society is influenced by media and technology even when they are unaware of it. Thus, APTN has the opportunity to influence the behaviour of the individual (or society) as a tool for self-expression and may have the capability of influencing the hegemony, and changing the ideology concerning the identities of Aboriginal people.

McLuhan (1994) argues that mass media power plays out in society. If it is a valid argument that individuals are unaware of television's effect on their perceptions, as

he suggests, then television holds potential to also change these perceptions. In the case of the hegemony concerning Aboriginal Peoples identities, television may provide new perspectives for society. McLuhan suggests that “[u]nlike previous environmental changes, the electronic media constitute a total and near instantaneous transformation of culture, values and attitudes” (Benedetti and DeHart, 1996: 22). The statement suggests the ways in which the hegemony concerning Aboriginal people has the potential to be influenced by the voice of the APTN. Thus, if APTN has the potential to change the hegemonic ‘culture’, ‘values’ and ‘attitudes’ of Canadians where Aboriginal Peoples identities are concerned, then McLuhan would argue that APTN is a powerful medium.

Furthermore, McLuhan’s theories are based on the need to critique the sets of constructs that modern understanding provides. Post-modernity does exactly what McLuhan encourages: to not accept the constructs as they appear, but to encourage their critique (Federman, 2005). At the advent of postmodernism in the 1960s, McLuhan’s concepts of “the medium is the message”, “global village” and his notion of the “rearview mirror” dismiss modernism’s focus to explain ‘the given’ (Federman, 2005). His ability to deconstruct ‘the given’ suggests a valid way in which academics should critically evaluate media in general. For instance, McLuhan first suggests the concept of *global village* years before the arrival of the *Internet*, or words like *globalization* (Benedetti and DeHart, 1996). His foresight for using such terminology is most probable for the renewed interest in McLuhan after his death in 1980 (Benedetti and DeHart, 1996: 34) and the increasing interest in postmodernism as a critical theory in academia. McLuhan’s (1967: page un-noted in text⁵⁴) dismissal of modernity, in the theoretical sense, is demonstrated in the following example:

Western history was shaped for some three thousand years by the introduction of the phonetic alphabet, a medium that depends solely on the eye for comprehension. The alphabet is a construct of fragmented bits and parts which must be strung together in a line, bead-like, and in a prescribed order. Its use fostered and encouraged the habit of perceiving all environments in visual and special terms- particularly in terms of space and of time that are uniform, c-o-n-t-i-n-u-o-u-s and c-o-n-n-e-c-t-e-d. The line, the continuum, became the organizing principle of life... "Rationality" and logic came to depend on the presentation of connected and sequential facts or concepts... Rationality and visuality have long been interchangeable terms, but we do not live in a primary visual world any more.

McLuhan (1967) discourages the idea that knowledge is a whole. Academics should critique the 'given' ways in which cultural life is currently understood. McLuhan and Strathern would theoretically agree that 'rationality' or knowledge should no longer be based on visual connections forming continuous wholes and researchers should accept the constructivist perspective that knowledge is a set of "fragmentary bits" (McLuhan, 1967) or "partials" (Strathern, 1991). This is the primary role that postmodernism has played as a multi-disciplinary approach to academia and McLuhan's emphasis on communications is valuable to contemporary projects in this respect.

Applying McLuhan's theories to the APTN case study may seem as radical as McLuhan's theory itself. However, this thesis proposes that McLuhan's ideas are valid for developing a model of empowerment based in reflexive anthropology and television. For instance, like Strathern (1991), McLuhan suggests media are '*extensions* of man [woman]' (1994[1964]). "Media by altering the environment evoke in us unique ratios of sense perceptions. The *extension* of any one sense alters the way we think and act – the way we perceive the world" and that "all media are *extensions* of some human faculty – psychic or physical" (McLuhan, 1967: page numbers un-noted in text). McLuhan's (1967) use of *extension* is similar to Strathern's (1991) above. Applying *extension* to the

APTN case study suggests that its programming is an extension of 'some human faculty', or sense of identity from those responsible for the portrayals presented. APTN is in a powerful position for self-representation and the results of the study suggest that the informants are aware of this power (Chapter 6).

Therefore, the constructivist, reflexive anthropology of Strathern and the implied postmodernism of McLuhan have been applied throughout the development of this thesis. The outcome is the development of an institutional model of empowerment for Aboriginal people in Canada that may serve as an aid to other organizations looking to create similar media empowerment projects. Although the results and analysis of this model are provided in Chapter 6, the five conceptualizations of empowerment for this model, constructed from the results of this project, are outlined below. Ultimately these five points provide a reflexive application of APTN empowerment providing a valid direction to contemporary scholarship.

Summary of Theoretical Framework and the APTN Model of Empowerment

The theoretical framework for an argument for empowerment is constructed using five concepts. First, this chapter evaluated the large-scale scope of postmodernism and its effect as a multi-disciplinary approach. Second, an examination of the theoretical debate concerning Aboriginal media was considered that supports APTN as a model of empowerment rather than as a globalization tool. Third, a brief discussion of Gramsci's hegemony suggests the power APTN may have in changing the dominant Canadian perspective on Aboriginal Peoples explored in Chapter 2 and 3. Fourth, the introduction of anthropologist Marilyn Strathern's concepts of reflexivity, partiality, extension and tool are applied to the APTN case study supporting the methodological implications of

the research and the theoretical premises of postmodernism. Last, McLuhan's perspective on communication technology is applied to the APTN case study. This application further supports the use of a postmodernist framework in this research and the conceptualization of APTN as a *tool* for the self-representation and identification of Aboriginal people. These five steps support the APTN as an institutional model of empowerment in a reflexive, constructivist postmodernist framework and the applications are far reaching.

Theoretically, APTN is a model of empowerment because it is a tool for the self-representation of Aboriginal Peoples. The APTN model is based on the following five points:

- (i) APTN is a grass-roots historical development,
- (ii) APTN is structurally organized to promote the benefit of Aboriginal Peoples,
- (iii) APTN staff participating in the study define their empowerment as employees and for the larger Aboriginal community,
- (iv) APTN programming reflects the voices and interpretations of APTN staff and its structure via the results of a programming content analysis, and
- (v) The APTN is a tool for the self-representation and voices of Aboriginal people in Canada.

These five points are a result of this project's examinations in the field and are formulated from the empowerment literature outlined in Chapter 2. The notion that a medium can be a tool for the empowerment of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada is developed from numerous sources. This chapter outlines the specific ideas in a cross-disciplinary approach from the large-scale effects of postmodernism to the specifics of theorists like McLuhan and Strathern. As a result, this thesis provides five points to define the APTN as an institutional model of empowerment, which, is based on the

perspectives of the APTN informants participating in this study. The following chapter outlines the methodology of the project.

Research Methodology & Methods
Chapter 5

The objective of this project is to examine the Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN) as a model of empowerment for Aboriginal people in Canada. The postmodern theories of Marshall McLuhan (1967, 1994 [1964], 1996) and anthropologist Marilyn Strathern (1991) are used to evaluate the APTN model of empowerment. This process takes the reflexive⁵⁵, constructivist⁵⁶ anthropology of Strathern (1991) and applies it to McLuhan's (1967, 1994 [1964], 1996) postmodernist approach to media theory. The methods used in this project have been designed to utilize the perspectives of the APTN staff informants and their perceptions of the role APTN plays for Aboriginal Peoples in Canada as an exploratory project meant to investigate the ideals of the APTN institution and the perspectives of its employees. The methodology of the thesis requires six steps: (i) the process of gaining access to the APTN head office and the ethical considerations involved; (ii) the qualitative 24-interview process at the APTN head office; (iii) the preliminary coding of the interviews after transcription applying both qualitative and quantitative research methods; (iv) the coding of the interviews; (v) the taping of the APTN programs and (vi) the coding of the programming data. Through these six steps, the examination of an APTN model of empowerment is possible.

Furthermore, the methodological process is divided into two components: step one and two examine the *structure* of the APTN and enables a qualitative and descriptive portrayal of the characteristics of the organization; and the second component focuses on *content analysis* for the remaining steps. The content section allows both qualitative and quantitative data analysis and is developed using Weber (1985) and a study by Solutions Research Group (2003)⁵⁷. These two sections give an overall institutional representation

of the APTN, its possibilities and its goals. These two sections, *Structural Analysis* and *Content Analysis*, form the basis of evaluating an institutional model of empowerment.

Ethical Consideration

Before the initial stages of the research project, ethical issues were considered based on the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996), Appendix E: Ethical guidelines for research. One of the major ethical considerations suggests the problems of 'studying-down', a process where the researcher is in a position of authority over the informants. This has been the traditional orientation of anthropologists such as Edward Tylor and Franz Boas, described in Chapter 3. The concern of the project was that a non-Aboriginal researcher would be entering a majority-Aboriginal institution, potentially encouraging distrust or racial tension with the informants (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). This concern is warranted considering the history of anthropology for studying the 'other' (Palys, 1997).

This ethical consideration is significant in terms of defining empowerment using the vocabulary specific to APTN informants. First, the researcher is not of Aboriginal descent and may hold an alternative perspective on the application of empowerment. Identifying empowerment using the scope of the informants helps maintain APTN voice(s) in the research (See Strathern, 1991; Roth, 1996, 2000, 2002a, 2002b; Ginsberg, 2002). Second, Strathern (1991) and Roth (2002b) suggest that informant involvement in the research is crucial to achieving success in any academic project. Thus, a reflexive component to the methodology was developed to ensure both researcher and researched voice(s) in the project, emphasizing the important contributions of APTN informants with

their signed consent (Appendix C: Summary of Ethics, gives the details of the ethical considerations of research approved for the research project).

Structural Analysis

The first section of the project involved the qualitative, structural analysis of the APTN from the external literature of the CRTC and the APTN website as well as internal literature provided at the APTN head office. This section is composed of two steps, first gaining access to the APTN and the second an interview process. Learning the history of the APTN allowed the researcher to explore the particular significance of the informants' involvement with the APTN from a knowledgeable position. This provided the questioning to develop as a reflexive component, pertinent to the objectives of the thesis.

Step 1: Gaining Access & Ethics

In the summer of 2005, discussions with the APTN Director of Human Resources⁵⁸ took place to coordinate a site visit in the fall of 2005. A letter was sent to the CEO, Jean LaRose to introduce the researcher and her advisor. All aspects of this letter, inclusive of formal communications via email were submitted to the University of Guelph Ethics Board for its approval in September 2005⁵⁹.

The Ethics application for the project was approved on October 6, 2005. Compensation for the participants of monetary or physical value was not provided in the study. Furthermore, the participants were chosen based on their time availability as a convenience sample.

Once the ethics application was approved, a phone conversation with the Director of Human Resources, Kent Brown, formalized several interviews with the following individuals⁶⁰:

- Kent Brown, Director of Human Resources – Key Informant
- Ken Williams, Saskatoon Correspondent (by phone) – First Interview
- Tim Kist, Director of Marketing – Key Informant
- Karen Desjarlais, Office Coordinator – Key Informant

All other interviews with the participants were scheduled either by email or in person. All interviews used in this study were conducted during the one-week head office site visit.

Step 2: Winnipeg Interviews

A period of one week, October 11 - October 18, 2005 was spent at the APTN head office in Winnipeg, Manitoba. A total of 24 interviews were conducted with informant rank, title and gender listed in Table A. All informants were given the choice to have their interviews recorded using the digital recording device: all agreed to have their interviews recorded. Two informants agreed to participate in the study and to have their interview recorded but did not agree to have their names appear or to be quoted verbatim in the final draft of the thesis. All interviews were conducted using an open-ended question guide (Appendix B: Basic Open-ended Question Guide). The questions were to keep the interview on track rather than as a rigid and formal set of interview questions. The objective was to maintain a qualitative focus on the information collected and allow the informants to project their voices and perspectives into the data. By allowing the informant to turn the interview in the direction that they felt important, the research expressed the interpretations of the informants rather than solely the voice of the researcher (Strathern, 1991).

The interviews were transcribed over a five-week period ending in December 2005. The interviews will remain in digital and written form for a period of not more than five years, as per the University of Guelph's Ethical Guideline Regulations.

Table A indicates the total number of interviews, the *rank* of the informants, the department in which they work, their gender and their self-identified ethnicity. *Rank* refers to the institutional hierarchy of the APTN (See Table 2: Rank and Definition). All departments were well-represented in the sample: one person was interviewed from the Chief Executive Office; one person from the Finance Department; five people in the Operations & Facilities Department; two people in the Human Resources Department; three people from the APTN National News & Current Affairs Department; two people from the Programming Department; nine people from the Marketing Department; and one person from Contact.

Table A: Interview Summary

# ⁶¹	Rank	Department	Gender	Ethnicity
1	1	Chief Executive Office	M	A
2	1	Finance Department	M	Non-A
3	1	Operations & Facilities Department	M	A
4	1	Human Resources Department	M	A
5	1	APTN National News & Current Affairs	F	Non-A
6	1	Programming Department	F	Non-A
7	1	Marketing Department	M	Non-A
8	2	Marketing Department	F	A
9	2	Human Resources Department	F	A
10	2	Marketing Department	M	A
11	2	APTN National News & Current Affairs	M	A
12	2	Operations & Facilities Department	F	A
13	2	Marketing Department	F	A
14	2	Marketing Department	M	A
15	2	APTN National News & Current Affairs	M	A
16	2	Marketing Department	F	A
17	2	Programming Department	M	Non-A
18	3	Marketing Department	F	A
19	3	Marketing Department	M	Non-A
20	3	Operations & Facilities Department	M	A
21	3	Contact	M	A
22	3	Marketing Department	M	A
23	3	Operations & Facilities Department	M	A
24	3	Operations & Facilities Department	F	A

Although Kent Brown, the director of Human Resources was the key informant and the individual with whom all initial correspondence took place, a second individual, Tim Kist, the Director of Marketing, provided the researcher access to company documents.

Content Analysis

The content analysis section of the research comprises Steps 3 through 6. Step 3 involves the preliminary stage of the analysis by using the 24 interviews with APTN staff. Step 4 is based on Robert Weber's (1985) section on creating and testing a coding scheme. Step 5 involves the recording of APTN programming to represent a 'slice' of their 22-hours-a-day⁶² programming schedule. Step 6 involves the coding of the programs using two separate scales⁶³ of analysis based on Weber's (1985) section on creating and testing a coding scheme and also employs the Solutions Research Group (2003) study in its coding formations. Employing the Solutions Research Group (2003) study is pertinent to the APTN case study because it applies its coding scheme in the analysis of Canadian television programming. For the purposes of analyzing APTN programming, the Solutions Research Group (2003) study is used as a template only, and many of the categories have been redefined to fit the specific requirements of the APTN and the data provided by the informants. The results of Step 4 and Step 6 are presented on pages 113-135 of Chapter 6: Results and Analysis.

Step 3: Preliminary Coding

The preliminary coding of the interviews involves a general analysis of the APTN head office hierarchy. Here, an evaluation based on rank is composed using interview data gathered while in Winnipeg⁶⁴. Table B explains these three ranks.

Table B: Rank and Definition

Rank	Definition
1	Highest authority, CEO, Board Membership, CFO, Chairperson Status, Director status or senior advisor
2	Managers, Senior Executives*, Studio Directors, producers, news correspondents, or supervisors, Assistants to directors, producers, correspondents or supervisors
3	Senior executive assistants, core staff, controllers, or coordinators, non-Senior assistants, crew, staff and secretaries
Notes:	
*Excluding Senior Executive Secretaries or assistants All ranking definitions were implied in the interviews or in information given to the researcher during the week in Winnipeg. The division into three ranks was solely the responsibility of the researcher.	

Furthermore, the analysis of the 24 interviews requires a summary of the ranks of all informants. Without using names, Table C outlines the number of interviews conducted in each rank, the number of males and females in each rank as well as their percentages of representation within the rank category. Ranking informants is important to examining empowerment in the APTN case study for two reasons: first it allows all participants, at the APTN an equal 'voice' in the project. By ranking the participants it allows an evaluation of the responses from all levels within the institution. This eliminates the potential bias of including only the voices of the informants in higher ranks or of the informants of one department that may have been more thoroughly represented. Second, by ranking the participants, an overall analysis of APTN as an institution is useful in articulating a model of empowerment. If rank determines the conceptualization of the participants' feeling of empowerment (or not), then it offers different perspectives on APTN as a model of empowerment⁶⁵. This is the same reasoning for distinguishing male and female participants Rank, gender and Aboriginal identity may be variables in the perceptions of empowerment.

Table C: Ranking Summary

Rank	# of interviews	#M	#F	% M	% F
1	7	5	2	71%	29%
2	10	5	5	50%	50%
3	7	5	2	71%	29%
Total	24	15	9	62.5%	37.5%
Avg	8	5	3	64%	36%

A total sample of 24 APTN employees participated in the study. This convenience sample represents 30 per cent of APTN staff employed at the head office and 26 per cent of APTN staff and contract workers across the country. The sample comprises 62.5% males (15) and 37.5% (9) females. The gender breakdown of the entire organization is 41 males and 38 females in the head office with 2 persons gender undefined⁶⁶, or 50% male and 47% female.

Step 4: Coding Scheme

Step 4 of the project's content analysis involves the creation of a coding scheme based on Weber's (1985) criteria. Weber suggests first defining the "recording units" or criteria of analysis as "one of the most fundamental and important decisions" of the research process (1985: 22). Weber's scheme, like that devised for this project, involves an interpretation of themes in the existing literature (Chapter 2) prior to their creation as a coding scheme. Employing Strathern's (1991) theory, vocabulary of empowerment present in the interview data was also used to formulate the appropriate codes.

The coding scheme involved the use of key terms such as 'Empowerment', 'Power' and 'Resistance' which are used throughout the academic literature involving the empowerment of Aboriginal Peoples (See Chapter 2). The terms 'Pride', 'Choice', 'Ability', 'Opportunity' and 'Learning' were specific to the interviews themselves although also used less formally in the academic literature. These terms were counted for

the frequency throughout all the interviews, creating a list of the top three terms employed by each participant. Using only the top three words used by each informant simplified the objectives of this project by using the terminology preferred by the APTN. For instance, if 'pride', 'choice' and 'ability' were used more often than 'empowerment', 'power', 'resistance', 'opportunity' or 'learning', then the main use of empowerment terminology by that informant were 'pride', 'choice' and 'ability'. Using only the top three words provided the most appropriate terminology since the informants were clarifying their own thoughts rather than simply complying with the researcher's questions. As an example, a response from the interview with APTN Senior News Producer Bruce Spence is provided:

Um, but we have to say this is "us" in order for them to understand "us". There are aspects of the mainstream media that I don't agree with... There are certain newspaper columnists, for one thing they're bad writers, and for another thing they're bigots. I don't have to read that, but they're there. You know, and they form a big part of the mainstream media. We have the same, I mean I can easily be considered that way myself, by mainstream media, but they don't have to read me or listen to me... People have a *choice*.

As an example, Spence may have been searching for the words to express his identity, as in "us" within the mainstream media but he selects the word 'choice'. Incidentally, the coding could have been formulated to search for the word "identity" (or words referring to an identity) but in the final analysis however the final code word for this excerpt was 'choice'. These types of decisions were a result of the reflexivity of the study process (Strathern, 1991). Spence wanted to articulate 'choice' whereas it would have been acceptable for the researcher to incorporate identity into this analysis. Being conscious of the reflexivity of research in general indicates the decision making process

at each stage of the analysis. By making these decisions conscious, it may allow the researcher to be more accountable in her analyses (Strathern, 1991).

Second, the coding scheme, according to Weber (1985), requires an analysis of word sense, including semantic idioms, proper nouns etc. Having not used a computer program in the coding process, this word sense phase involved the perspective of the researcher and her field notes to formulate the proper categorizations. These words are indicated in Table D. Third sentence inclusion was incorporated in the use of direct informant statements used. Often the words employed involved their semantic and thematic context to become relevant and thus the extraction of the entire sentence proved crucial to its importance. Finally, a thematic coding summary was created based on general themes from the literature. These themes are included in Table E: Themes of Empowerment.

Table D: Words for Empowerment

A	Empowerment
B	Power
C	Resistance
D	Pride
E	Choice
F	Ability
G	Opportunity

Note: Letters are applied for space availability on some graphs and tables appearing in Chapter 6 and the Appendices.

Table E: Themes of Empowerment

1	Mentorship Program
2	CRTC, "mandatory carriage" distribution order
3	Our perspective/ voice(s)
4	Reflection of self
5	Have an impact on what/ how something gets on the air

6	Ability to focus on issues that are important to the individual
7	Mobility and Financial Compensation
8	Increased responsibility and sense of accomplishment
9	Freedom to choose and make choices
10	APTN is necessary because an Aboriginal perspective was not presented in the Canadian media.
11	Programming geared for age cohorts using traditional languages
12	Sense of betterment of social status in life by their employment and involvement with the APTN.
13	Learning/ re-learning about own culture

These general themes were given a numeric code (1 to 13) and helped to develop APTN informant perspectives on empowerment. The themes in the interviews developed out of the interview data as they reoccurred throughout the 24 interviews. Themes 1, 2, 3, 4, and 10 reflect the structural components of APTN's possibility as an empowering institution, and were developed as a result of informant insight.

Theme 1: The Mentorship Program also referred to as the "Sunset Clause", is a type of contract signed by some employees at the APTN. A Sunset Clause refers to a three-year contract signed by a non-Aboriginal person in a position of authority to ensure that one or more Aboriginal individuals gain the experience and training to fulfill the job's requirements by the end of his or her contract. Thus, Sunset Clause contracts refer to non-Aboriginal employees who have been given the opportunity to use their expertise in their appropriate fields to train Aboriginal people for three years to take on their positions.

Theme 2: According to the Broadcasting Act (1991) section 9(1)(h), 'Mandatory Carriage' suggests that the Commission may further its objectives and "require any licensee who is authorized to carry on a distribution undertaking to carry, on such terms and conditions as the Commission deems appropriate, programming services specified by

the Commission.” In other words, the CRTC deemed APTN’s service *mandatory* in order to fulfill the Canadian Broadcasting Act’s requirements as one of the privileges of the Commission.

Theme 3 refers to the CRTC Decision 99-42 (1999) licence commitment that:

APTN will offer a high-quality, general interest television service with a broad range of programming that reflects the diverse perspectives of Aboriginal peoples, their lives and cultures. APTN will, thus, provide a much-needed positive window on Aboriginal life for all Canadians, whether living in the North or in the South.

In order to reflect the diversity of perspectives, APTN must provide the perspectives of Aboriginal people that are traditionally marginalized from mainstream television. Since the CRTC recognizes APTN as a mandatory component to the Canadian Broadcasting Act (1991) commitment to diversity on television, APTN has a commitment to provide this voice and reflection (Theme 4). Thus Theme 3 refers to the perspectives demonstrated in APTN programming and Theme 4 refers to the visible representation of Aboriginal Peoples on its programming. Theme 10 reflects the personal opinion of the informant concerning APTN’s position on the cable television dial as not just mandatory in terms of its status, but *necessary* for Aboriginal Peoples to be heard through the Canadian media.

Themes 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 12 refer to the personal opinions and experiences of the informants working at the APTN. These five themes refer to the benefits APTN provides informants that they may not have achieved in other media institutions. These themes provide the basis for defining the opportunities APTN has provided the individuals.

Themes 11 and 13 refer to APTN programming as a service provided to all Canadians. Thus the structural components of the APTN, informant perspectives on their

personal benefits and the programming objectives of APTN's service are provided in the 13 themes coded in the interviews. As a result of the interview process, Step 5 became an important aspect to the study of the APTN. Since many of the interviews focused on their representation on television, the APTN programming schedule became an important aspect to identifying APTN empowerment.

Step 5: Taping APTN Programs

Including an APTN programming content analysis in the evaluation of the APTN model of empowerment allows an inquiry into the service APTN provides as per its Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) commitments (CRTC Decision 99-42, 1999). If APTN provides "mandatory carriage" service, the question remains regarding the description of this service and the ways APTN programming differs from other television programming. Furthermore, the theoretical objective of this thesis is to consider the theory of McLuhan (1967, 1994 [1964], 1996). He explains, "[e]verybody experiences far more than he [or she] understands. Yet it is experience, rather than understanding, that influences behaviour, especially in collective matters of media and technology, where the individual is almost inevitably unaware of their effect upon him" (1994 [1964]: 318). The objectives of the content analysis of programming are not to investigate the "effects" of such a medium on the larger Canadian society but to evaluate the types of representations, perspectives and voices presented on the APTN that differ from the hegemony presented in mainstream media. Basically, the content analysis of APTN programming evaluates the APTN's portrayal of Aboriginal Peoples, its CRTC consideration as a "mandatory carriage" status medium and the considerations of an Aboriginal voice. Furthermore, theme 3 'Our perspective/

voice(s)' suggests the larger Aboriginal community may also benefit from APTN's programming. This theme is further explored in the results chapter (Chapter 6) and identifies the ways APTN may be empowering to the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada.

The recording of the APTN programming schedule occurred over an 11-day period, chosen to represent two hours of every broadcasting day for the APTN's 22-hour schedule. Two hours per day were chosen rather than longer increments to evaluate a period of the broadcasting schedule and to best represent a *slice* of APTN programming from all of their self-defined genres⁶⁷. Starting on Saturday, January 21, 2006, the first two hours of regularly scheduled programming were recorded, from 6:00 am to 8:00 am. The last day of recording was Tuesday, January 31, 2006. Each day, a two-hour increment of time was allotted to program recording with the closed captioning option on the television switched on. This enabled the recording of the APTN's language availability, where *caption* refers to the presence of the written program dialogue on-screen. The new CRTC licence renewal states that "the licensee shall provide closed captions for at least 25% of its new, original, French-language programming in each broadcast day, beginning in the third year of the licence term" (CRTC Decision, 2005-445). Although APTN has not yet reached its third year of the licence term, it is worth noting -the current status of APTN closed captions.

From Monday to Friday, the *APTN National News* is scheduled at 1:00 pm to 1:30 pm Eastern-time for *APTN National News Daytime*, and 7:00 pm to 7:30 pm Eastern-time for *APTN National News Primetime*. Furthermore, the program *Contact* is scheduled twice a week for 1-hour, on Fridays at 7:30 pm to 8:30 pm Eastern-time and repeated on Sundays from 1:00 pm to 2:00 pm Eastern-time. This is also true of the news show

Ipperwash which airs once a week on Mondays from 1:00 pm to 2:00 pm Eastern-time and then repeated on Saturday afternoons at the same time. All daily news broadcasts as well as *Contact* and *Ipperwash* were recorded over the 11-day recording period. This was to establish a thorough comprehension of APTN's *in-house* production. *In-house* refers to the APTN-produced category of programming in the internal studio, thus maintaining more control and power over the program's content.

Step 6: Coding Program Data

The creation of the APTN program coding scheme was formulated using data from Step 4: the interview coding scheme. This data included incorporating themes 3: "Our perspective/ voice(s)"; 4: "Reflection of Self"; 6: "Ability to focus on issues that are important to the individual" (informant or larger Aboriginal community); 10: "APTN is necessary because an Aboriginal perspective was lacking in Canadian content"; 11: "Programming geared for age cohorts using traditional languages", and 13: "Learning/ re-learning about own culture". Theme 13 can apply to either the informant or the larger Aboriginal community depending on the context of the response. These six themes were incorporated in the coding framework of the programming data. Table F below, identifies the categories that reflect these six themes and Table G below, define the parameters for each category. These parameters were constructed using the six themes from the interview process, CRTC commitment mandate and the Solutions Research Group (2003) study as a template.

Furthermore, the CRTC commitment guidelines suggest that content is monitored based on language content. However, when testing whether programming is empowering, the number of categories for analysis increases. The categories used in the study are

based on the categories provided in the Solutions Research Group (2003) study, yet the researcher found this research to be limiting in its definitions and categories. Thus, although many of the categories are interpreted from those used in the Solutions Research Group study, many of the definitions have been altered, added or changed altogether. These changes are due to the fact that the study examines the diversity in the Canadian media and not the APTN specifically.

Furthermore, by identifying the power structure of on-screen characters, their visible or overtly given ethnicity status and their characters' roles in the story line also suggests that the APTN is achieving its goals of representing Aboriginal peoples, as a *tool*⁶⁸ (McLuhan, 1994 [1964]). Table F below outlines the categories used to code the program content from a visual and verbal form. Table G provides the definitions of these categories and their original sources.

Table F: Program Coding Scheme

Categories	Descriptors	Codes							
Genres	kids, youth, French, lifestyle, entertainment, documentary, news & current Affairs, voice	K	Y	F	L	E	D	N	V
Language	French, English, Aboriginal	F	E	A					
Subtitle	French, English, Aboriginal	F	E	A					
Role Rank	lead, supporting, incidental	L	S	I					
Role Occupation	doctor, nurse, lawyer, police, EMS, Retail, Educator, Executive, Labourer, Domestic help, Politician, scientist, technician, reporter, anchor, expert, newsmaker, witness etc..	written							

Role Professional Level	Ranks from 1 to 8 as in the APTN internal hierarchy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Marital Status	married, common-law, single, divorced/separated/ widow	M	C	S	D				
Role Characteristics	Intelligent/un, successful/un, respected/ not, ethical/ not, caring/ not, threatening/ not.	written							
Gender	male, female	M	F						
Age Range	child; youth; adult; elder	C	Y	A	E				
Visible Minority	yes, no	Y	N						
Race	Overtly given, specific	written							
Accent	yes, no	Y	N						
Ethnicity	overtly given specific	written							
Religion	overtly given specific	written							
Region of Origin	overtly given specific	written							
Setting	work, home, with family, with children, school, religious institution	written							
Environment	Urban, rural/country, remote, fiction	written							
Time	Present, past, future, live, recorded	written							
Story/ Plot Signifier	Tale, history, fiction, coverage, event, moral, genre	written							
Subject of Contribution	Health, education, business, consumer, crime, accidents/ disasters, politics, science/ technology, environment, weather, sports, arts/ entertainment/ music, war, traffic, nature/ animals, religion, family, travel & leisure, sexuality, lifestyle, law etc... – News and Current Affairs programming Only.	written							

Dialogue Perspective	Who is the victim, villain, what is good or bad, what is the focus of the meaning of the dialogue of the news program.	written		
Recognition	Names of the 24 informants interviewed given credit for their involvement with the program. ... – News and Current Affairs programming ONLY	written	#	#

Table G: Category Definitions

Definitions:

Genres	Taken from the genres of the APTN 2006 Programming Schedule, and therefore were predetermined.
Language	Defined by the CRTC Decision 1999. Aboriginal refers to all languages falling under the legal definition of "Aboriginal" including status, non-status, Inuit, Métis, First Nations and Indian peoples.
subtitle	Programs available with subtitles are indicated in the language they appear.
role rank	Lead: characters in a fictional or non-fictional program that are central to the storyline and have significant on screen presence throughout the program. Supporting: characters in a program that have speaking roles in more than one scene, but are not central to the storyline. Incidental: Characters in a program with speaking roles who appear in only one scene (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
role occupation	specified or articulated as such a role (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
role professional level	Superiority: if the character has others who report directly to him/her or is in a position of power over others in their occupation or role. Based on the same 7 levels as the APTN hierarchy constructed at the structural level for the purposes of this project.
marital status	specified or articulated as such in the program (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
role characteristics	the impression the character gives to other characters, the angle they have been projected in, protagonist/ antagonist to the story, negative/ positive vocabulary used around the character (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
gender	Implied.
age range	Child, Youth, Adult, Elder defined by APTN programming genres and need for representation according to APTN informants (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
visible minority	A person appearing to belong to a visible minority, i.e. not white or Aboriginal (Solutions Research Group, 2003).

Race	Overtly given in the program (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
accent	Appearance of accent distinct from mainstream Canadian accent (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
ethnicity	Overtly given in the program (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
religion	Overtly given in the program (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
region of origin	Overtly given in the program (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
Setting	The details of the area in which the majority of the program takes place (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
Environment	Type of setting, more general. Defined as Urban: in a town, city or urban reserve; Rural: in a small community, hamlet, farm, or rural reserve; Remote: refers to locations or extreme climatic conditions or significant geological signifiers and regions; Fiction: refers to a fictitious place, such as cartoon, stage, also to locations such as space, underwater, the moon etc (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
Time	The era of the story or program. Whether it is through language use or other content signifiers such as wars and events (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
Story/ Plot signifier	What type of story and/ or program and what did the significant events lead to? (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
Subject of Contribution	News and other information programs only: The category that best describe the subject of the news item to which the person is contributing (Solutions Research Group, 2003).
Dialogue Perspective	What aspect of this program makes it unique, different, or how is it characteristic of APTN programming commitments and goals. Does this program represent the people interviewed who helped to create it? – News and Current Affairs programming ONLY
Recognition	The number of informants interviewed that were mentioned in the credits of the program. What number on the list did they appear? – News and Current Affairs programming ONLY Any special characters, such as “special thanks” or graphics symbol, unique to graphics artists employed at the APTN.

Summary of Methods and Conclusion

For the purposes of examining the APTN as an institutional model of empowerment, the methodology is divided into six steps. This process includes the first component of Structural Analysis for steps one (Gaining Access and Ethics) and two (Winnipeg Interviews), and a second Content Analysis component for the remaining steps. The inclusion of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies allows a more comprehensive interpretation of empowerment that may be achieved via the APTN case study. Furthermore, the methodological process employs the constructivist approach of

Strathern (1991) based in reflexive anthropology, to McLuhan's (1994 [1964]) focus on media studies. Thus, the research process of this thesis may be placed within the theoretical debate: Whether empowerment may be achieved for Aboriginal people while employing a mass medium, such as television, as a tool for self-representation and expression.

Results and Analysis of the APTN Model Chapter 6

The purpose of this thesis is to argue that the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) is an institutional model of empowerment. This final chapter presents the results of the interview and programming analysis discussed in Chapter 4: Methods and Methodology. These results are presented using the five points of the APTN model outlined earlier:

- (i) The APTN is a grass-roots organization as detailed in Chapter 3: History of Aboriginal Television in Canada and the Creation of the APTN;
- (ii) The four structural components of the APTN promote the benefit of Aboriginal people working at the APTN and the larger Aboriginal community: a) the Mentorship Program, b) Career development workshop opportunities, c) Mission Statement, and d) Mandatory Carriage Status;
- (iii) The results of the Interview Coding in Step 4 of Chapter 4: Research Methodology and Methods;
- (iv) The results of the Program Coding in Step 6 of Chapter 4: Research Methodology and Methods;
- (v) The final point for defining the APTN as a model of empowerment is a summary of the theoretical significance of APTN for institutions looking to empower indigenous people in other parts of the world.

The final point of the model and the theoretical significance are outlined in the implications of the research.

APTN as a Grass Roots Organization

The first point in defining APTN as an institutional model of empowerment involves a summary of 'grass roots' organizations first examined in Chapter 3. To recap, according to Melkote and Steeves (2001) and White (2004), projects meant to benefit Aboriginal people must involve the Aboriginal group's participation in order to achieve success. Furthermore, 'grass roots' development refers to the ways in which the Aboriginal Peoples involved (or peoples in the Third World) actively pursue development projects to benefit themselves (Melkote and Steeves, 2001; White, 2004).

Thus, successful projects meant to benefit Aboriginal people refer, not only to Aboriginal people's participation in the process but also to the pursuit of their own projects. Therefore, 'grass roots' projects are driven primarily by the lobbying or by the pursuit of the marginalized group of people to support their best interests.

Chapter 3 highlighted the challenges Aboriginal Peoples have faced in the development of Aboriginal television in Canada. Roth (2005) suggests that over a span of 30 years, Aboriginal Peoples in the North struggled through legislative and ideological challenges of broadcasting and eventually gained the ability to self-represent. Roth's analysis conceptualizes this history based in six theoretical phases. The importance of these historical phases is the eventual creation of the APTN, as an indicator of Aboriginal achievements in the Canadian media. This institution signifies the success of a grass roots project and may provide a model of this success for other Aboriginal groups, around the world, seeking ways in which to empower their own peoples.

APTN is a grass roots organization as a result of the shift in Aboriginal people's ideology regarding television in the 1960s. Prior to the 1960s, television in the North was perceived as a tool of assimilation with programming geared specifically to the interests of non-Aboriginal Canadians (Roth, 2005). Furthermore, the 1960s were also a time where Aboriginal Peoples were portrayed by non-Aboriginals in the South, which perpetuated the stereotypes already provided by anthropological accounts⁶⁹. The shift in ideology regarding television occurred as Aboriginal people in the North came to perceive television as a potential tool for their own benefit. This ideological shift in television, from a process of assimilation to a tool for self-identification, is the point at

which Aboriginal groups proceeded to lobby for their proper place in the Canadian media.

The 1970s indicate the start of the process of self-representation and achievement of Aboriginal Peoples in television. Such successes are discussed in Chapter 3, but include: the convergence of interests between the federal government and the Aboriginal Peoples regarding the use of television in Canada's North in 1969-1970; the lobbying for support in bringing these interests further in line by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) and the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA); the establishment of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC); the Broadcasting Act (1991) enshrining the equality rights of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada as per the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Section 15 (1982), the Multiculturalism Act (1988), the Human Rights Act (1976-77), and the Employment Equity Act (1986), in Canadian Broadcasting (Roth, 2005); and the development of Television Northern Canada (TVNC) in 1991 as a division of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) Northern Service, months after the Broadcasting Act (1991). These Milestones of the APTN are also listed in Appendix G and mark historical events that helped shape the Canadian media present today.

The creation of the APTN is the climax to the 30 years of Aboriginal struggles for a rightful position in the Canadian media. The CRTC licence in 1999 signified the ultimate achievement for Aboriginal Peoples in this country: A national television network created specifically to represent Aboriginal Peoples as a separate medium from the budget restraints of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) Northern Service. Sharing the stories and their struggles across the country has the overwhelming potential to benefit this traditionally marginalized group and indicates the momentous

power Aboriginal Peoples have achieved in the Canadian media. Such an achievement only hints at the possibilities of the network.

Furthermore, the continued existence of the APTN must not be regarded as the dénouement of the story, but rather as a continuation of the struggle, with large and small successes along the way. The renewed CRTC license in September, 2005 suggests the continual changes and developments APTN has achieved in the first five years of operation. The new license indicates an increase from the 0.15\$ per household per month subscription fee to 0.25\$ per household per month (CRTC Decision 2005-445, 2005). This budget increase is guaranteed for the next seven years and suggests the future success of the APTN.

APTN is also a public service provider and must publish the annual Financial Statements which are then audited (APTN, 2005c). According to APTN's Chief Financial Officer, Wilfred Blondé, APTN is "a non-profit charitable organization. [It is] legally a charitable network, so it does not pay taxes...Any surplus or profit is reinvested into the business." Thus, the new budget increase will further support Aboriginal production companies and independent producers over the next seven years, benefiting the entire Aboriginal media industry. According to Joanne Levy, director of Programming, APTN asks numerous questions before accepting program acquisitions. APTN ask whether the program,

Fits in our mandate, is it priority programming, is it regional, does it make the best use of the talents of Aboriginal crafts people because obviously another aspect of what we do here is to help build an independent Aboriginal production industry. Because there's a very rich cultural tradition in Aboriginal communities, a very rich story telling tradition, and we can take a lot of credit for getting that tradition translated into the most powerful medium in the modern world: television.

With guaranteed financial support, some Aboriginal producers can expect a certain financial windfall from the APTN indicating the benefits APTN provides for the larger Aboriginal community in Canada.

During the site visit to the head office, plans to invest their new income were already in the works. Many informants believed APTN would increase its news outlets to include more correspondents in regions of Canada in need of coverage. Some informants also suggested that the budget increase would benefit Aboriginal production companies looking to explore new genre options, such as sitcoms, comedies and other entertainment programs with Aboriginal actors at the forefront. Others believed APTN would eventually go international, requiring correspondence with organizations around the world. All informants however, regardless of their suggestions for APTN's budget, were excited and engaged in the conversation regarding their workplace. Levy further indicates that APTN:

...will continue to make a difference in the way that non-Aboriginal people and Aboriginal people associate with one another and get to know one another. I think the Aboriginal independent production company has a huge future.

The value they find in the achievements of APTN is evident on their faces when probed about the work they do for the APTN, the opportunities they have been given by working there, and the role they play in the service it provides to 'all Canadians'.

Thus, the APTN is a model of empowerment based within its 'grass roots' history examined in Chapter 3 which forms the first point in the model of empowerment. The following sections support APTN as a model of empowerment, not only by its financial and licensing successes since 1999, but also by further interpretations of its staff and the overwhelming implications of the structural aspects of the business.

(ii) Structural Components of APTN

There are several important aspects of APTN's institutional framework that support the argument that the APTN is a model of empowerment. Throughout the site visit in October 2005, there were four components of the APTN that indicate the empowerment felt by staff members. These four concepts are developed below:

a) *Mentorship Program*

The Mentorship Program, also referred to as the "Sunset Clause", is a type of contract signed by some employees at the APTN. A Sunset Clause refers to a three-year contract signed by a non-Aboriginal person in a position of authority to ensure that one or more Aboriginal individuals gain the experience and training to fulfill the job's requirements by the end of their contract. As an official component to the APTN structure, employees qualifying under the Sunset Clause are participants in the Mentorship Program.

The four informants currently participating in the Mentorship Program discussed their contracts openly in a positive manner. These informants are in the first rank, as per the ranking system used in Chapter 4⁷⁰. Rank 1 refers to informants in the Highest authority, the CEO, Board Members, the CFO, Chairpeople, Directors or Senior Advisors. Rank 2 refers to informants that are Managers, Senior Executives, Studio Directors, Producers, News Correspondents, Supervisors, Assistants to Directors, Producers, and excludes informants that are Senior Executive Secretaries or Assistants.

Rank 3 refers to informants that are Senior Executive Assistants, core staff, Controllers or Coordinators, non-Senior Assistants, Crew, and Secretaries.

All four non-Aboriginal informants participating in the mentorship program were positive about the opportunity to be a part of the APTN and value their time and experiences (Interviews with Rita Deverell, Joanne Levy, Tim Kist, and Wilfred Blondé).

Not only were the Mentorship Program informants positive about their experiences at the APTN, but they felt that their time at the APTN had helped them learn about Aboriginal cultures. The process allowed the informants to evaluate hegemonic beliefs concerning Aboriginal Peoples and the knowledge they have acquired from working at the APTN.

Furthermore, theme 1⁷¹, of the interview content analysis, referred to the 'Mentorship Program' and its use throughout the interviews. In total, seven informants (29%) used the Mentorship Program as an indicator of the positive aspects of the APTN. Six of the seven informants in rank 1, used the Mentorship Program as a theme of empowerment, whereas none of the informants in rank 3 used this theme. One second-level informant used the Mentorship Program as support for an APTN theme of empowerment.

The results of Theme 1 'the Mentorship Program' suggests that informants who did not refer to theme 1 in their interviews, (i.e. those in rank 2 and 3) were not directly involved with the program itself. The Mentorship Program is mainly for positions of authority and thus may have only been relevant for discussion for the people affected by the program, (i.e. either those under the Sunset Clause contract) or those that have been

mentored. Francine Compton, Studio Director, expressed her experience with the Mentorship Program as follows:

The news director at the time said that he wanted to bring in a director from CBC and that director from there would select someone to train to become the director. So we had a guy from CBC come in and worked with us for a couple of weeks. I came back from my summer holidays and he said "well you know, Dan wanted me to train somebody and I think you would naturally fit that kind of role because you were assisting directing and you have leadership qualities."...So I just said right away "I'll do it!"

Thus, the opportunities of the Mentorship Program did not only affect people in rank 3 during the site visit to APTN head office. However, in the fast pace environment of a national television network, employee turn-over and additional hiring are always occurring, suggesting that limiting the Mentorship Program to rank 1 employees would be incorrect since the Sunset Clause refers to non-Aboriginal employees training their Aboriginal replacements.

The Mentorship Program is significant because it creates positions for individuals with the appropriate expertise, regardless of ethnicity, to act as mentors for Aboriginal candidates, who may not have had the appropriate experience but demonstrate great potential and skill. Thus, the Mentorship Program is a structural component of the APTN that supports the APTN as a model of empowerment as it allows employees to benefit from skill development.

b) *Career Development Workshop Opportunities*

In the interviews with the Director of Human Resources, Kent Brown and the Human Resources Administrator, Debbie Isaak⁷², both informants indicated that APTN supports its staff through the funding of career development workshops and conferences. Darrick Baxter suggested that he was able to attend a conference in Texas to further

develop his skills as a Web Editor, as an example. Other workshops included skill development and training courses at local universities and colleges and an alliance with the Frontier College⁷³. Other opportunities included the financial support in college programs involving Aboriginal students and the development of the technical aspect of television production. Informant Wilfred Moar, a member of APTN's Studio Crew, was hired through a college program on a part time basis and it is understood that he has recently taken on a more permanent position with the network. Furthermore, Francine Compton, Studio Director, was hired by the APTN in 2000 following graduation from the course, and she now holds a significant position at the network. Derek Christianson, Studio Crew Chryon, said that before working for APTN, he was in a broadcasting course in Winnipeg.

Thus, many Aboriginal informants indicated that the APTN benefits their own careers – specifically the ability to participate in technical conferences and workshops. Supporting such participation benefits the individual *and* the network. However, skill development is acquired by individuals that may also be seeking other career opportunities. Levy indicates that the APTN encourages these sorts of career opportunities and,

Can see a time when some of the people that have been nurtured through the APTN that [they] have given their start to gon, and have done remarkable and great things in Canadian broadcasting, or in North America or even the world.

Other informants⁷⁴ in the Marketing Department promotions indicated that eventually they would like to produce their own shows. Working at the APTN only increased their chances of achieving this goal, through experience and working with qualified personnel.

Thus, APTN, not only supplies its employees with the possibility of training programs and workshop opportunities, but it also allows the individual to explore his or her personal career goals. Many informants suggested that APTN is the launching pad for their careers, but they will continue their involvement and co-operation with the network in the future. Therefore, another structural component to the APTN as an institutional model of empowerment involves the opportunities granted to staff seeking skill development and training.

c) *Mission Statement*

Another structural component of the APTN model involves the mission statement of the network. According to CRTC Decision 99-42 (1999), APTN's mandate indicates that:

APTN will offer a high-quality, general interest television service with a broad range of programming that reflects the diverse perspectives of Aboriginal peoples, their lives and cultures. APTN will, thus, provide a much-needed positive window on Aboriginal life for all Canadians, whether living in the North or in the South.

Throughout the interview process, informants made continual reference to this mission statement in three of the 13 themes of empowerment coded in the interviews. Themes involving the mission statement are 3, 4 and 10. "Our perspective(s), voice(s)"; "Reflection of self"; and "Necessary because of a missing perspective in the Canadian media". "Our perspective(s), voice(s)" (theme 3) occurred 71% of time (17 of the 24 interviews). "Reflection of self" (theme 4) occurred 67% of the time (16 of the 24 interviews) and "Necessary because of a missing perspective in the Canadian media" (theme 10) occurred 88% of the time, or in 21 out of 24 interviews. The emphasis placed

on the APTN mission statement in the interviews is thus, an important component to APTN's structure as a model of empowerment.

The mission statement was discussed in the interview process as a positive aspect of APTN's potential. Francine Compton sums up the overall positive implications of the APTN for all informants as:

Well APTN to me, means a lot because, you know growing up I was always very cultural, experienced racism, so when APTN started I, I wished my grandmother was alive, so that she could have seen it. Like that is really how much it means to me, that's how I felt. I was like WOW if only she was alive, she could see me working here, she could see elders like her on TV, speaking her language, that's something that she never even imagined that she would ever see. So that's how, that's how much I think it means to maybe more than just me. Other people might feel that way too.

Further dedication to the principles of APTN's mandate is evident on the walls of the head office itself. At least three of the five floors of the Winnipeg Head Office have some variation of the mission statement printed on the wall, such as "APTN is sharing our people's journey, celebrating our cultures, inspiring our children and honouring the wisdom of our elders."⁷⁵ These reminders of APTN's mission and vision are printed directly in front of the elevator doors as you enter each floor. The APTN was undergoing design changes during the interview period and the APTN logo and other quotations of the mission statement were being painted in the main lobby and other areas, indicating the emphasis placed on their mandate.

Furthermore, many informants believed in the APTN mandate and what it meant to them. As an example, Christianson states that he is

Proud to work [at the APTN}. Even telling people that I work here, it give me an opportunity to talk a little bit about my Aboriginal history and culture and also, being a prt of something that is the first network in the country, well in the world, is primarily for Aboriginal people, made by

Aboriginal people and where the programming is primarily done by Aboriginal people.

Thus, APTN's mandate, as coded in the interview process and as evidence on the walls of the APTN itself, supports APTN as a model of empowerment.

d) *Mandatory Carriage Status*

As a final structural component of the APTN model of empowerment, informants discussed the CRTC guideline commitment as a Mandatory Carriage channel. According to the Broadcasting Act (1991) section 9(1) (h), Mandatory Carriage suggests that the Commission may further its objectives and "require any licensee who is authorized to carry on a distribution undertaking to carry, on such terms and conditions as the Commission deems appropriate, programming services specified by the Commission." In other words, the CRTC deemed APTN's service *mandatory* in order to fulfill the Canadian Broadcasting Act's requirements as one of the privileges of the Commission. The CRTC's Decision 99-42, (1999) states:

The Commission considers it *vitaly important* that APTN's new and unique service be available to all Canadians, consistent with the objectives of the Canadian broadcasting policy. For this reason, and in view of the limited distribution that TVNC has received, the Commission has decided to utilize one of the regulatory tools available to it to ensure APTN wide distribution across Canada. Accordingly, pursuant to section 9(1)(h) of the Act, the Commission has granted APTN mandatory carriage as part of the basic service...(emphasis added).

The CRTC's decision that APTN is 'vitaly important' indicates, as Roth (2005) suggests, that the APTN is important to the Canadian Broadcasting Act's guidelines regarding diversity on television. The inclusion of APTN in the Canadian media, means that the Canadian Broadcasting Act's guidelines are being fulfilled which further supports the powerful position APTN has in the Canadian media.

“Mandatory Carriage” (theme 2), in the interview coding process was mentioned in eight of the 24 interviews or 33% of the time. Kist suggests that there are only three other broadcasters with ‘Mandatory Carriage’ status and they include “a French broadcaster, TVA, there’s CPAC, the Canadian parliamentary channel, there’s voice print, so for the hearing impaired, and APTN”. Furthermore, another APTN staff suggest that

APTN is absolutely necessary in the world order because it links different cultural groups from across Canada and it brings snapshots of those groups to the rest of the world, including Canada. If people understood us better, maybe they will start to change their attitudes towards us. Not everybody accepts Aboriginal people, there’s a lot of people who just think we’re a bunch of bums. So in order to change that attitude, we have to start telling our stories through the news, and investigative reports. But we can also do that through children’s shows, and movies and entertainment (Interview with Spence).

‘Mandatory Carriage’ status is then, an extremely important structural component of the APTN model of empowerment since only three other networks have the same privilege and this CRTC “regulatory tool” is not often applied.

The second point in expressing APTN as an institutional model of empowerment involves four major components: a) the Mentorship Program; b) Career Development Workshop Opportunities; c) the Mission Statement; and d) Mandatory Carriage Status. These four structural components indicate APTN as a model of empowerment as they were expressed throughout the interview process. Furthermore, the four components provide a set of objectives for other Aboriginal people seeking to empower their peoples through a media organization.

(iii) Interview Coding Results

The interview coding results provide the third point in constructing APTN as an institutional model of empowerment by indicating the vocabulary, themes and quotations used by informants in expressing what APTN has provided them. This section is divided into several sections outlining each step in the methods used to code the 24 interviews (Weber, 1985).

Words Associated With Empowerment: Refer to Tables 1a, 1b, 1c and 1d in Appendix H, page: 181.

Figure 1: Use of Words for Empowerment – by Percent Total

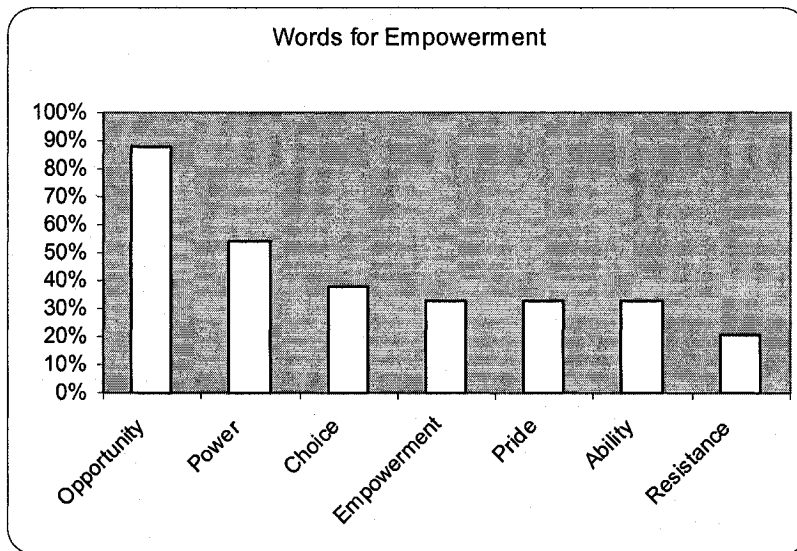


Figure 1 indicates that 21 out of the 24 interviewed used the word “opportunity” when they were asked about the APTN (88%)⁷⁶. Thirteen of the 24 interviewed articulated the word “power” when they were asked about the APTN (54%). Nine of the 24 interviewed used the word ‘choice’ when they were asked about the APTN (37.5%) and eight informants (33%) used each of the words ‘empowerment’, ‘pride’ and ‘ability’. From these results, 88% of informants believe that the APTN provides them or others with some sort of opportunity either personal or for the larger Aboriginal community.

Thus, the most important word used in the interview process to articulate empowerment at the APTN was “opportunity” occurring in 88% of the interviews. Furthermore, 13 of the 15 informants who self identified as “Aboriginal” used the word “opportunity”. Examples of the context when “opportunity” was used are:

“Well at first I came to the APTN primarily for the opportunity to work in television and being apart of APTN as an Aboriginal person gave me a renewed interest in my culture and background and I became reacquainted with some of the histories and it’s just a great environment.”– Derek Christianson, Studio Crew Chryon

“There’s new challenges everyday. It’s not something that I have a lot of experience in so I am obviously challenged. There are various opportunities to go to workshops, and conferences so you’re always learning things...there’s lots of opportunity to kind of get immersed in other people’s jobs and kind of find out how it works as a whole.” – Ghislaine Boge, Audience Relations Coordinator

Figure 2: the Word ‘Opportunity’ used with Other Words

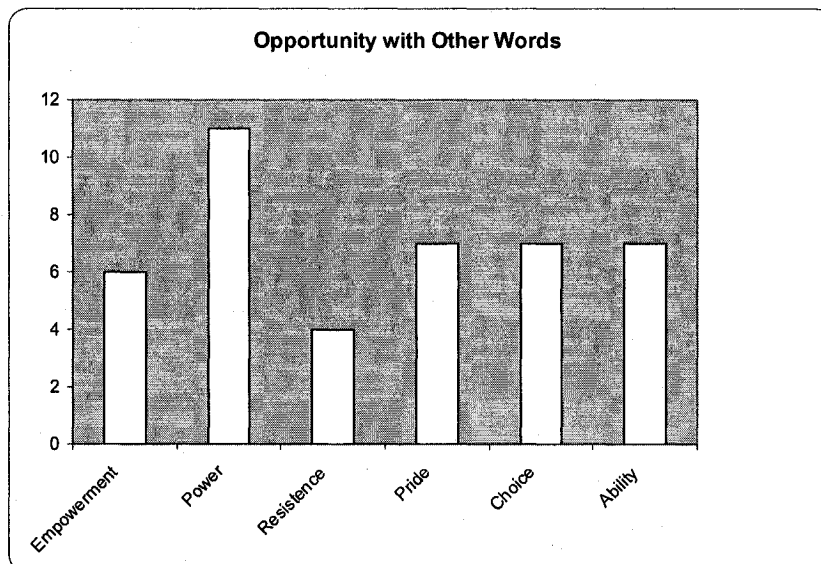


Figure 2 indicates that for the 21 informants who used the word ‘opportunity’, 11 of them also used ‘power’ (52%), the terms ‘pride’, ‘choice’, and ‘ability’ occurred seven times (33%) and ‘empowerment’ occurred six times (29%).

Thus, 'opportunity' was expressed most often with the word 'power', further supporting the idea that when informants were asked about the positive aspects of the APTN, their opportunities were also involved in discussions of APTN 'power'. Using specific vocabulary for articulating empowerment forms an important component of informant conceptualizations regarding the APTN.

Figure 3: The Word 'Empowerment' used with Other Words

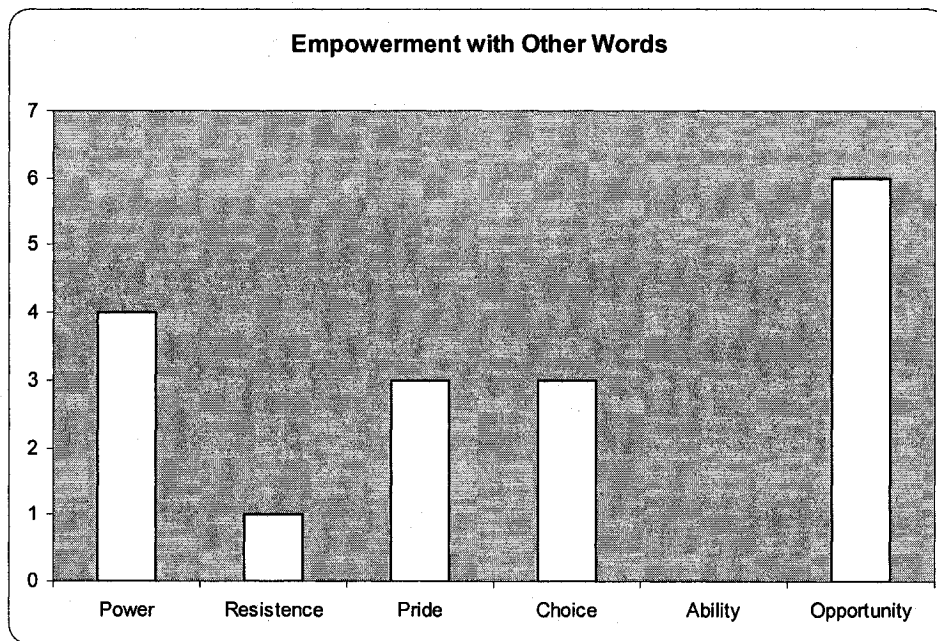


Figure 3 suggests that six of the eight informants who used the word 'empowerment', also used 'opportunity' (75%) and four also used 'power' (67%). Three informants who used 'empowerment' also used 'pride' and 'choice' (50%). As an example of 'empowerment' expressed, Derek Christianson suggests he feels:

...if people have questions about certain aspects of Aboriginal culture, I am more aware of having worked here...I feel empowered in the sense of having knowledge or the ability to answer questions... some people are obviously ignorant of certain things and if they say something or make a comment about something often I am able to correct or to clarify certain positions.

The context of Christianson's comment pertained to non-Aboriginal peoples that are ignorant of Aboriginal culture or traditions. He suggested that after working at the APTN he feels he is more capable of answering the questions or comments.

Of the eight informants that used the word "empowerment", 75% associated this word with the opportunities APTN has given them and 67% with the power of the APTN itself. This is a significant example of how APTN informants feel they are being empowered by the APTN through the four structural components listed above.

Figure 4: The Word 'Power' used with Other Words

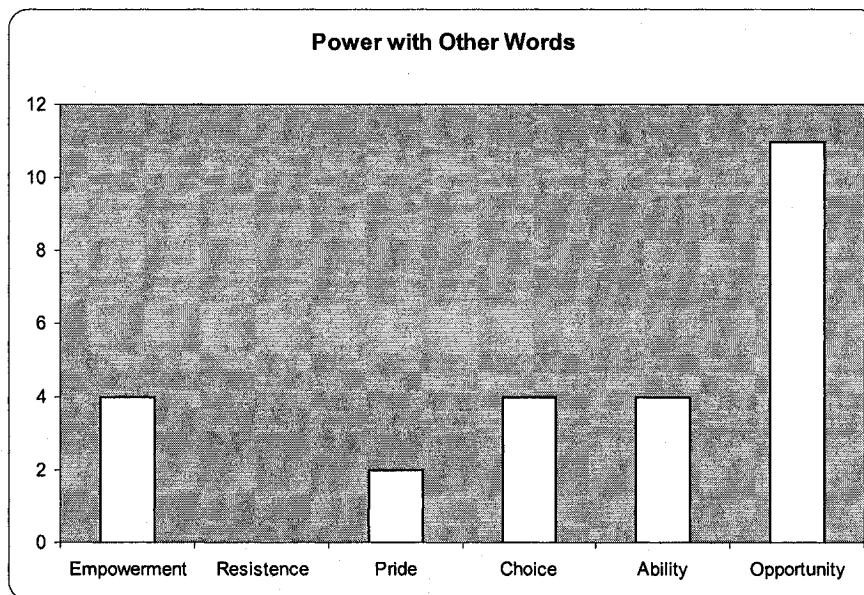


Figure 4 indicates that 11 of the 13 informants, who used the word 'power', also used the word 'opportunity' (85%). Furthermore, four informants who used 'power' also used 'empowerment', 'choice' and 'ability' (31%). An example of the use of 'power' is from Kist:

I would say power to tell the [Aboriginal] story for sure, and power to ensure it happens. There's only four services in Canada that the CRTC has given what is called "mandatory distribution order" on basic cable service...it's different, it's going to be a perspective that is the true perspective and the right perspective... We might be an Aboriginal

[network], I mean with the representation and the strong mission and vision for empowering Aboriginal people that tell the stories, but at the same time we are a strong broadcaster...we're actually someone who is going to help grow the Canadian broadcast industry.

The coding for these six terms was to establish informant perceptions of the APTN, using their own vocabulary. Using the words and expressions of the informants highlights the reflexive⁷⁷ component of the methodology and is an important component to contemporary anthropological research (Jensen and Lauritsen, 2005).

*Major Reoccurring Themes of Empowerment*⁷⁸

The themes of empowerment coded in the interview process indicate several factors regarding the informants' experiences at the APTN and their ideas of empowerment. Many of them form the basis of the structural components: a) the Mentorship Program, b) Career development workshop opportunities, c) Mission Statement, and d) Mandatory Carriage Status. Theme 1 is the "Mentorship Program". Theme 2 is "Mandatory Carriage". Theme 7 is "Mobility and Financial Compensation" and Theme 8 is "Increased responsibility and sense of accomplishment". Themes 7 and 8 refer to the career development workshop opportunities. Themes 3 "Our Perspective(s), voice(s)" Theme 4, "Reflection of self" and Theme 10 "Necessary because of a lacking Aboriginal perspective in the Canadian media" refer to the Mission Statement objectives. Thus seven of the 13 themes refer specifically to the four structural components of APTN's institutional model of empowerment.

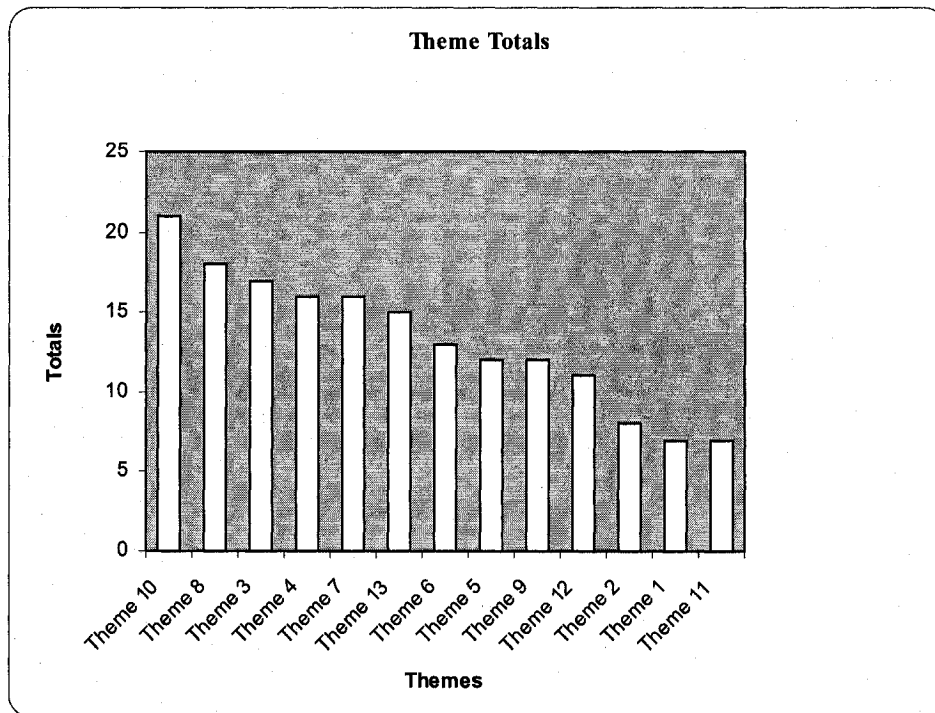
Figure 5: Total Occurrence of Themes of Empowerment in Interviews

Figure 5 indicates that theme 10 was used in 21 out of the 24 interviews (88%). Theme 10 refers to the idea that the “APTN is necessary because an Aboriginal perspective was lacking in Canadian Television content”. Thus, the most significant aspect of the APTN, according to the 24 informants, refers to its mandate objectives and CRTC commitments. Discussions of informant involvement with television and journalism in their previous experiences with CBC or other media also supported the idea that APTN is a necessary medium. The notion of ‘an Aboriginal perspective’ was developed through the program coding section of the methodology in an attempt to define an Aboriginal perspective. Since 21 of the 24 informants suggested that this is the primary focus of the APTN and the primary reason for its importance as a service, it is essential to perform a program content analysis to evaluate APTN’s service. The next section details the support for APTN’s ability to provide such a perspective.

Eighteen of the 24 informants used theme 8 (75%). Theme 8 refers to the structure of the APTN as it helps “increase their responsibility and sense of accomplishment” in their work and tasks. Often, the word ‘opportunity’ would appear when informants spoke about their accomplishments and training opportunities while working at the APTN.

Seventeen of the 24 informants (71%) suggested that the “APTN provides their perspective and their people’s⁷⁹ voice” as theme 3. Again, this relates to the Mandate objectives as in theme 10. The concept of ‘Voice’ also became an important factor to the coding step, as ‘Voices’ is a specific Genre of APTN programming. An example of representing voice is demonstrated in Tim Fontaine’s⁸⁰ interview:

I remember going to a journalism conference last year they were talking about this thing called ‘civic journalism’: bringing news from the people and all this stuff... that’s sort of cool. We realized, we were doing it without realizing what it was that we were doing which is trying to get information from real people rather than bringing in, you know, some senior analyst sort of thing.

Further evidence to support the success of APTN providing the “voice’ genre is analyzed in the programming data section below.

Sixteen of the 24 informants (67%) suggested that the “APTN is a reflection of themselves or their culture” as theme 4. Theme 4 refers to APTN’s mandate objectives of representing the diversity of Aboriginal cultures. Reflection refers to the ways in which Aboriginal people see themselves on screen. This is a focus of the program coding to evaluate the main characters and their visible race. The visibility is based on the programming content analysis in Chapter 5, where visible race refers to “a person appearing to belong to a *visible* minority (i.e. not white)” interpreted from the Solutions Research Group (2003) definitions.

Sixteen of the 24 informants (67%) suggested that working for the APTN gave them “mobility and financial compensation” (theme 7). Again, this theme refers to the opportunities APTN provides employees in terms of their own career development. However, the financial compensation was derived from informants who suggested that APTN provided them with more benefits and salary than they would have acquired in other television networks. Often this discussion involved the informant’s personal experiences in other media corporations as a comparison to their experiences at the APTN.

Fifteen of the 24 informants (63%) suggested that their work at the APTN helped them “learn/ re-learn about their own culture⁸¹” (theme 13). Both the informants’ experiences working with their colleagues and watching APTN programming allowed them to learn about Aboriginal histories.

Ya there’s like a history as far as the arrival of Europeans up into this day and when you go to public school you don’t often hear a lot of what transpired or what went on and working at APTN and being exposed to programming here, in some cases you learn a lot more about what happened in some cases, or what we weren’t told in school. – Derek Christianson, Studio Crew, Chryon.

Thirteen of the 24 informants (54%) suggested that APTN programming “focused on issues that were important to them” (theme 6). Again, the emphasis on the service APTN provides indicates the necessity of a program content analysis.

Twelve of the 24 informants (50%) suggested that their work at the APTN “Impacted what goes on the air” (theme 5). The informants who expressed theme 5 were mainly in the programming or studio departments. Twelve of the 24 informants (50%) suggested that the APTN gave them the opportunity and “freedom to choose” (theme 9) the projects they were able to work on. In the News and Current Affairs department, the

freedom to choose and discuss events specific to their own interests were very much a part of their jobs. Two of the informants in the programming department argued the same point, as Levy, suggests:

I don't think I will ever, and I have not before, will work in a programming industry environment who is as free to take risks as this one is. Because we don't have to do things the same way as everybody else does, and in fact we have to be more innovative.

Eleven of the 24 informants (29%) suggested that working for the APTN provided them with a "sense of betterment in their social lives and financial status that would not be the same if they had not have worked at the APTN" (theme 12). One informant, having colleagues in a non-Aboriginal focused television network, suggested that they were much better off at the APTN than their colleagues at the other network.

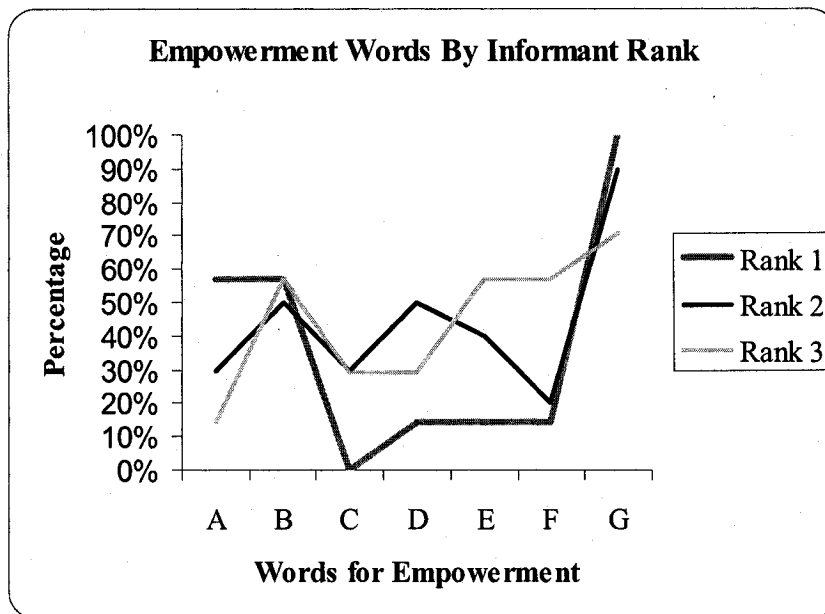
Eight of the 24 informants (33%) discussed empowerment in the context of the "CRTC commitment guidelines and APTN's a mandatory distribution order" (theme 2). This refers to the ways in which APTN holds significant power through mandatory carriage as one of four channels to have this status.

Seven of the 24 informants (29%) discussed empowerment in the context of the "APTN mentorship program" (theme 1). As suggested, the APTN Mentorship Program is a significant structural component of the empowerment of Aboriginal Peoples. Seven (29%) informants also discussed APTN empowerment and APTN power in terms of APTN's "programming for age cohorts using traditional languages" (theme 11). Theme 11 also relates to the program coding results presented in the next section.

Ranked Words:

This section further correlates the use of the six words for empowerment used throughout the interview process with the rank of the informant. Graph 6 below, indicates the occurrence of the six terms with the rank of the informant⁸².

Figure 6: Words of Empowerment Used – By Informant Rank



Note:

- A – Empowerment
- B – Power
- C – Resistance
- D – Pride
- E – Choice
- F – Ability
- G – Opportunity

Figure 6 indicates that ‘empowerment’ was used most often by informants in rank 1 (57%). ‘Power’ was used by informants in rank 1, 57% of the time, by informants in rank 2, 50% of the time and by informants in rank 3, 57% of the time. ‘Resistance’ was used most often by informants in rank 2 and rank 3 (30% and 29% respectively) and never by informants in rank 1. ‘Pride’ was used most often by informants in rank 2 (50%)

then by informants in rank 3 (29%). “Pride” was also used 14% of the time by informants in rank 1. ‘Choice’ was used most often by informants in rank 3 (57%) and rank 2 (40%). “Choice” was also used 14% of the time by informants in rank 1. ‘Ability’ was used most often by informants in rank 3 (57%) and ‘opportunity’ was used most often by informants in rank 1 (100%).

Thus, informants in rank 1 used words of empowerment A ‘Empowerment’, more often than any informants in the other two ranks and referred to the empowerment of APTN staff rather than the larger Aboriginal community. The Term ‘Opportunity’ was the term used primarily in all three ranks. The following table summarizes the use of terms by rank in terms of first, second, and third most occurring terms.

Table H: Words for Empowerment – by Informant Rank

Rank	1ST	2ND	3RD
Rank 1	G	A,B	D, E, F
Rank 2	G	B, D	E
Rank 3	G	B, E, F	C, D

Note: the titles 1st, 2nd and 3rd refer to the words of empowerment that occurred most often (1st) then almost as often (2nd) and then least often (3rd).

The significance of rank and the use of empowerment words through the interview coding clarifies that APTN hierarchy is not a significant factor in contributing to the idea of empowerment at the APTN. According to the data, the term ‘opportunity’ was more frequently used than any other word and the rank of the informant was not a significant factor in determining the use of this word. As a methodological note, it was more common for an informant in a higher-ranking position to ask the researcher the purpose of the research. In these cases, the researcher expressed the term ‘empowerment’ and may have influenced the use of the word for these informants. It is suggested that the themes used in the interview coding are more significant than the

Words in expressing APTN empowerment because they involve the context of the statement (Weber, 1985). Furthermore, seven of the 13 Themes refer directly to the structural components of the APTN.

*Ranked Themes*⁸³:

Figure 7 demonstrates the occurrence of themes presented in the interviews by the informants' rank in the APTN hierarchy.

Figure 7: Themes of Empowerment Used – By Informant Rank

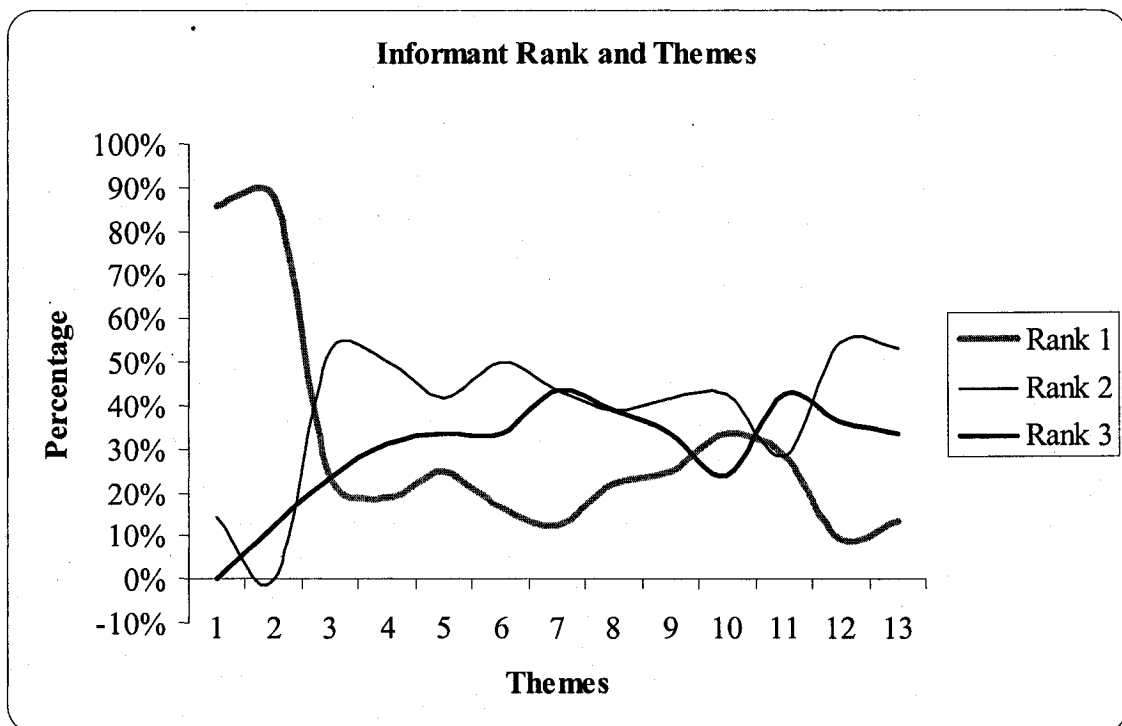


Figure 7 indicates that the informants in rank 1 were more likely to discuss themes of empowerment in terms of the 'Mentorship Program' or the 'CRTC commitments and guidelines' than those in ranks 2 and 3.

Eighty-six percent of informants in rank 1 discussed 'Mentorship Program' (theme 1), compared to 14% percent in rank 2 and 0% in rank 3. In rank 1 88% discussed 'Mandatory Carriage' (theme 2), compared to 0% in rank 2 and 13% in rank 3.

Thus, the structural components of APTN empowerment were discussed most often by informants in rank 1 whereas themes 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13 were most often discussed by informants in rank 2 and 3. Themes 4 to 9 and 12 and 13 relate to the cultural experiences of Aboriginal informants directly, rather than as the structural implications of APTN. These experiences were more personal and reflected the empowerment of Aboriginal informants as a result of the APTN.

*Ethnic Findings*⁸⁴:

Figure 8 illustrates the significance of the informant's ethnicity and his or her use of the words for empowerment.

Figure 8: Words for Empowerment – by Informant Ethnicity

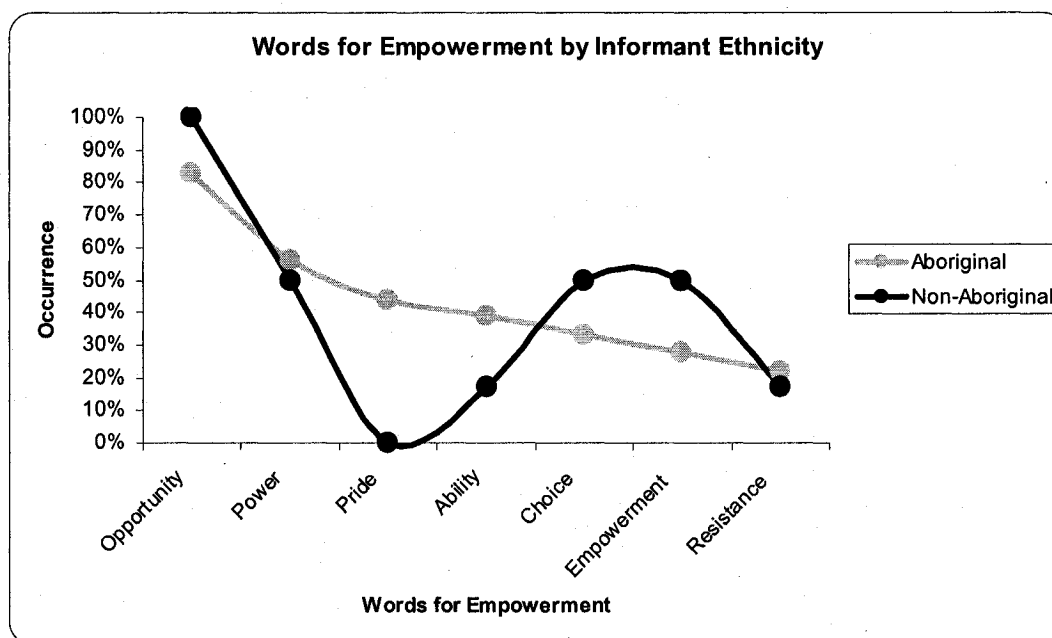


Figure 8 suggests that Aboriginal informants discussed empowerment at the APTN as an 'opportunity', 83% of the time compared to 100% of the time for non-Aboriginal. Aboriginal informants discussed empowerment at the APTN in terms of 'power', 56% of the time compared to 50% of the time for non-Aboriginal informants.

'Pride' was discussed 44% of the time for Aboriginal informants while not at all (0%) for non-Aboriginal informants. 'Ability' was expressed 39% of the time for Aboriginal Informants compared to 17% of the time for non-Aboriginal informants. 'Choice' was expressed 33% of the time for Aboriginal informants and 50% of the time for non-Aboriginal informants. 'Empowerment' was expressed 28% of the time for Aboriginal informants and 50% of the time for non-Aboriginal informants and 'resistance' was expressed 22% of the time for Aboriginal informants and 17% of the time for non-Aboriginal informants.

Thus, the significant difference in the use of words of empowerment, based on the informants' self-identified ethnicity, is between the words 'pride', 'ability' and 'empowerment', where 'pride' was used by Aboriginal informants 44% more often than by non-Aboriginal informants. 'Ability' was used 22% more often by Aboriginal informants than by non-Aboriginal informants and 'empowerment' was used 22% more often by non-Aboriginal informants than by Aboriginal informants.

Therefore, the words used to code for empowerment, were different depending on the self-identified ethnicity of the informant. The word 'empowerment' may have been used more often by non-Aboriginal informants since empowerment was used the most in rank 1. Rank 1 comprises seven informants, three of which are Aboriginal and four non-Aboriginals. Thus, the majority of informants in rank 1 is non-Aboriginal. If this study were to take place again, after a year's time, this majority would shift since the four non-Aboriginal informants are contracted under the Sunset Clause and near the end of their 3-year terms. Consequently, the words for empowerment, rank and ethnicity would also shift.

Figure 9: Themes of Empowerment – By Informant Ethnicity

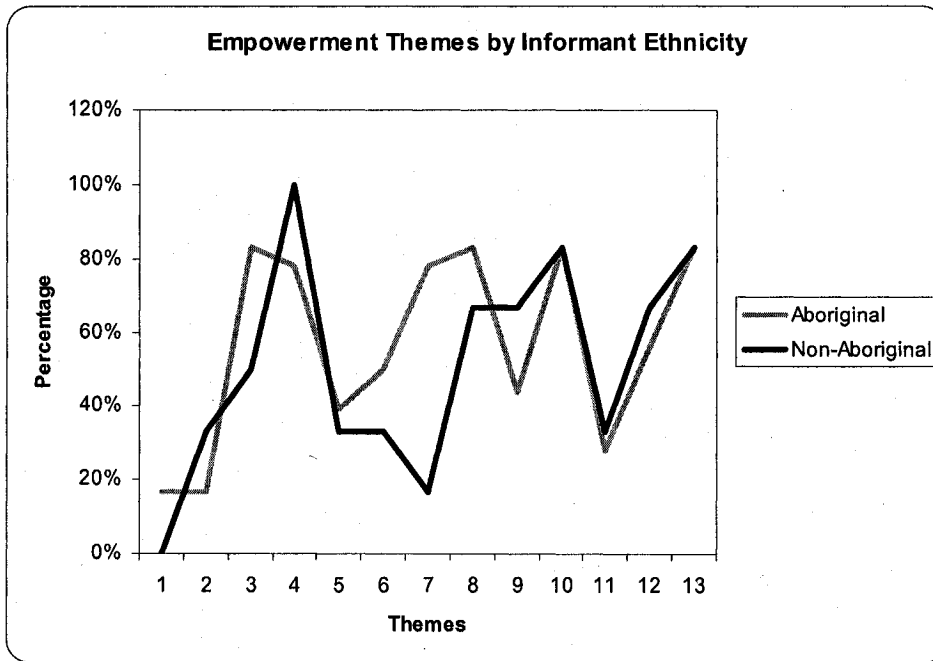


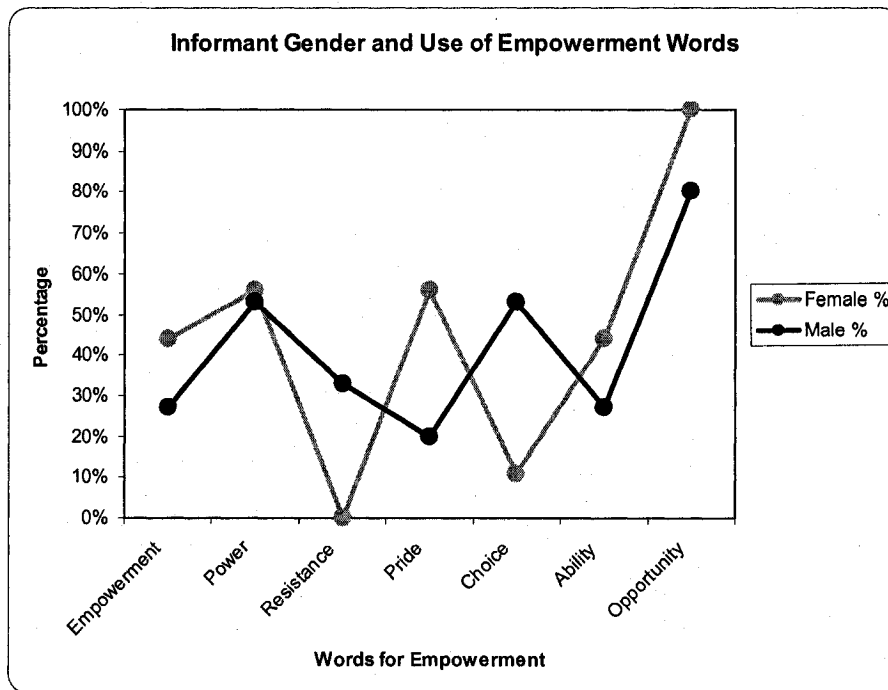
Figure 9 indicates that informant ethnicity most significantly changed the response rate for “Mobility and financial Compensation” (theme 7). Based on informant responses, this theme was discussed in terms of their prior experience in other media industries. Furthermore, their experience involved feelings of racism they encountered while at other⁸⁵ major media institutions and therefore were more likely to be included in Aboriginal informant responses than in the responses of non-Aboriginal informants⁸⁶.

Gender findings⁸⁷:

Figure 10 demonstrates the different emphasis placed on the terms used for expressing empowerment by gender. In total, 9 female informants and 15 male informants were interviewed. The significance of gender in the use of words for empowerment is between ‘resistance’, ‘pride’ and ‘choice’. The word ‘resistance’ was used in 33% more interviews with males than with females (0%). The word ‘pride’ was

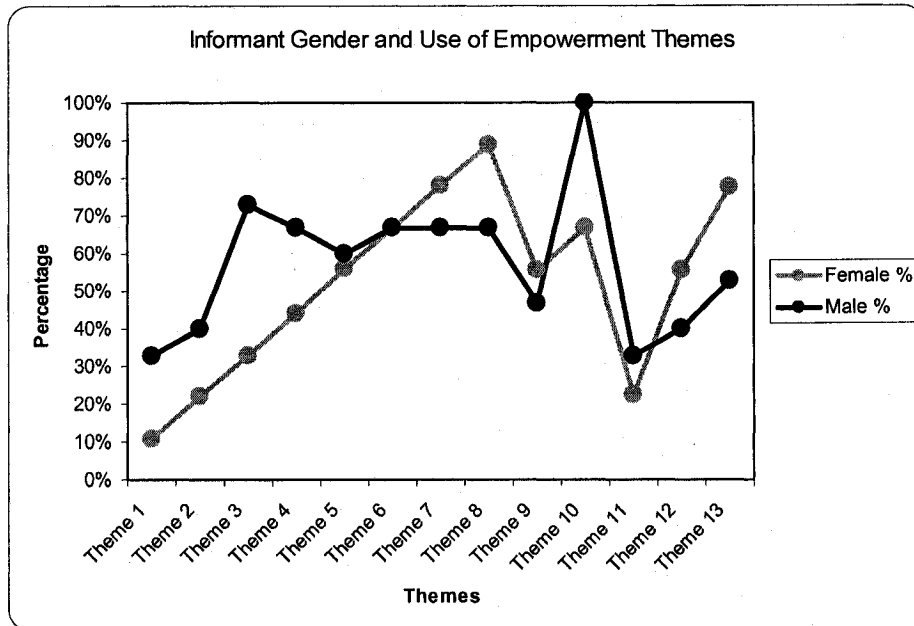
used in 36% more interviews with females than with males and 'choice' was used in 42% more interviews with males than with females.

Figure 10: Words for Empowerment – By Informant Gender



The significance of the gender data is not a large component to the expression of empowerment using the seven words. The significance between the use of “resistance”, “pride” and “choice” between male and female is not perceived to be important to the overall evaluation of APTN’s empowerment. All words were used by both genders (except resistance), and does not characterize a significant gender component to the research.

Likewise, Figure 11 does not indicate many significant differences between gender and the theme of empowerment used.

Figure 11: Themes of Empowerment – By Informant Gender

The differences in the male and female informant responses suggest that theme 3, “our perspective, voice(s)” was used 40% more with male informants than with female informants. Theme 8, “Increased responsibility and sense of accomplishment” was used 22% more often with female informants than with male informants and theme 10, “that APTN is necessary because of a missing Aboriginal perspective in the Canadian media” was used 33% more by male informants than by female informants.

Significance of Interview Data:

As a result of the interview process, seven words for empowerment were coded in 24 interviews. In each interview, at least one word for empowerment was coded, with each word occurring at least 21% of the time. Of the 13 themes coded in the interviews, at least one theme was present in each, with a minimum representation throughout the interviews of 29%.

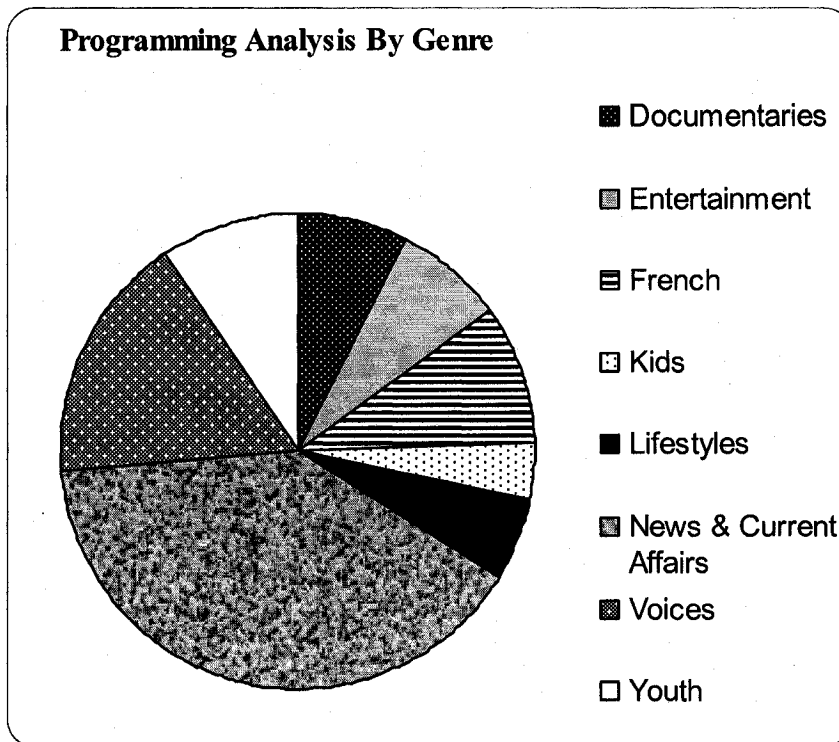
In conclusion, it is argued that the APTN is an institutional model of empowerment based on the informant responses and discussions of empowerment. Informants gave detailed accounts of their experiences at the APTN, with 21 of the 24 informants concluding that APTN is necessary in the Canadian media if the Canadian Broadcasting Act (1991) is to achieve its goals. Furthermore, the importance of coding the interview data also suggested a focus on the service APTN provides as its mandate commitments: television programming. The next section outlines the results of the programming analysis, as the fourth point in demonstrating APTN as an institutional model of empowerment.

(iv) Program Coding Results⁸⁸:

The programming data analysis further examines the APTN as an institutional model of empowerment based on its mandate commitments. According to the CRTC Decision 2005-445 (2005):

...the service was to consist of a broad range of programming targeted to a variety of age groups and interests, provide a new perspective on news and information, concentrate on under-represented categories of Canadian programming such as dramatic series, music/ dance, and variety programs, and include programming in English, French and up to 15 different Aboriginal languages... The Commission has reviewed the licensee's performance during its first licence term, and is satisfied that APTN has adhered to the conditions currently attached to its licence.

As per the CRTC mandate requirements, APTN programming was coded based on the genre of the program. Appendix F: Programming Schedule 'Slice', is the schedule used to code the programs based on the 22-hour per day APTN schedule. Graph 12 indicates the results of the programming analysis by genre.

Figure 12: Programming Analysis By Genres

Note: The eight Programming Genres provided are coded in the interview process and are based on the APTN 2006 Programming Schedule Genres. The French Genre refers to the programming in the French language whereas the other Genres do not refer to a specific language use. All Genres have been pre-determined by the APTN's 2006 Programming Guide.

Figure 12 indicates the majority of programs used in the programming analysis were of the News and Current Affairs Genre, or 21 of the 53 programs (40%). The Voices Genre programs were nine of the 53 (17%). Youth and the French Genres were five of the 53 programs respectively, or 9%. Documentaries and Entertainment were four of the 53 programs used respectively, or 8%. Three of the 53 programs were in the Lifestyles Genre (6%) and two (4%) were in the Kids Genre.

Figure 13 indicates the proportion of Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals playing the lead role or host of the program.

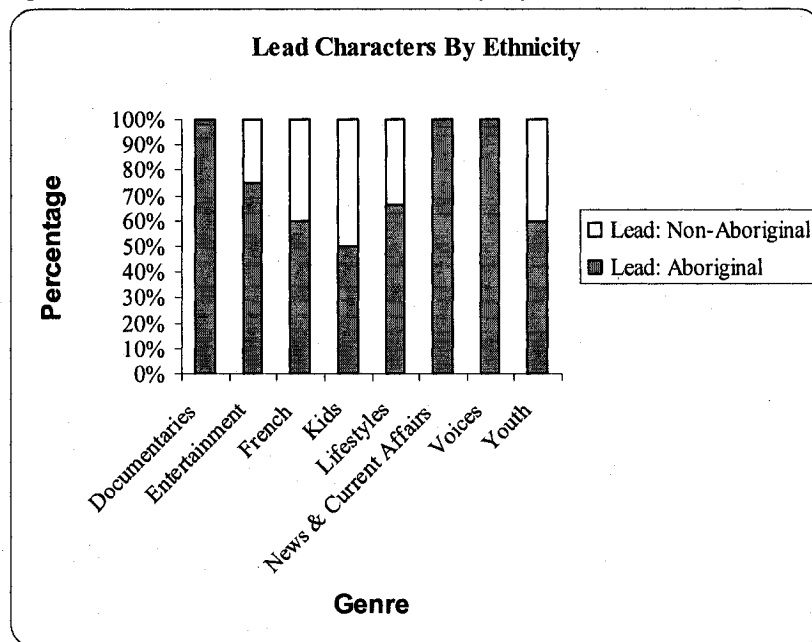
Figure 13: Lead Character Ethnicity by Genre

Figure 13 indicates that the majority of programming in all Genres (excluding Kids) have an Aboriginal lead character or host. In the Documentary, News and Current Affairs and Voices Genres, 100% of the lead characters or hosts were Aboriginal. The Entertainment Genre had 75% Aboriginal lead characters, the Lifestyles Genre had 67% Aboriginal lead characters, the French and Youth Genres each had 60% of the lead characters being represented by Aboriginals and the Kids Genre had 50% (or 1 episode) with an Aboriginal person as the lead Character. However, these shows all had Aboriginals as secondary or tertiary characters.

Figure 14 indicates the language content in each Genre.

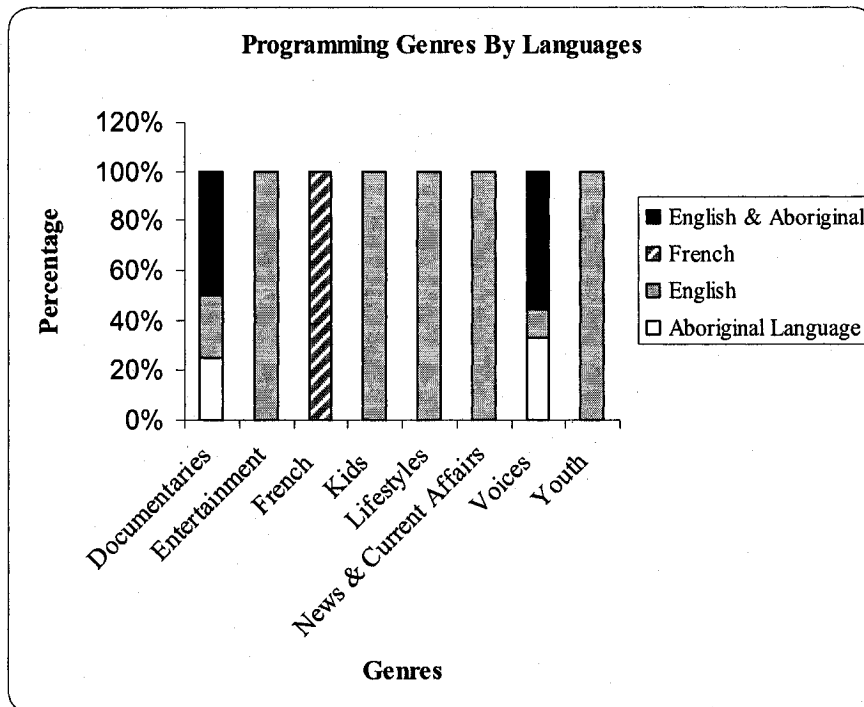
Figure 14: Programming Genres by Language

Figure 14 indicates that the majority of programming occurred in English (70% of the total programming content). The Documentaries and Voices genres also included the use of English and Aboriginal languages (13% of the total programming content). Aboriginal languages also occurred only within the Documentaries and Voices genres.

Figure 15 indicates the general time at which the programs took place -- For instance, whether the setting or plot of the program was set in the present or in the past. For instance, some documentaries discussed the history of the treatment of Aboriginal people, or the showed pictures taken from an earlier time. Similarly, shows in the Entertainment genre also depicted the lives of Aboriginal people in the past.

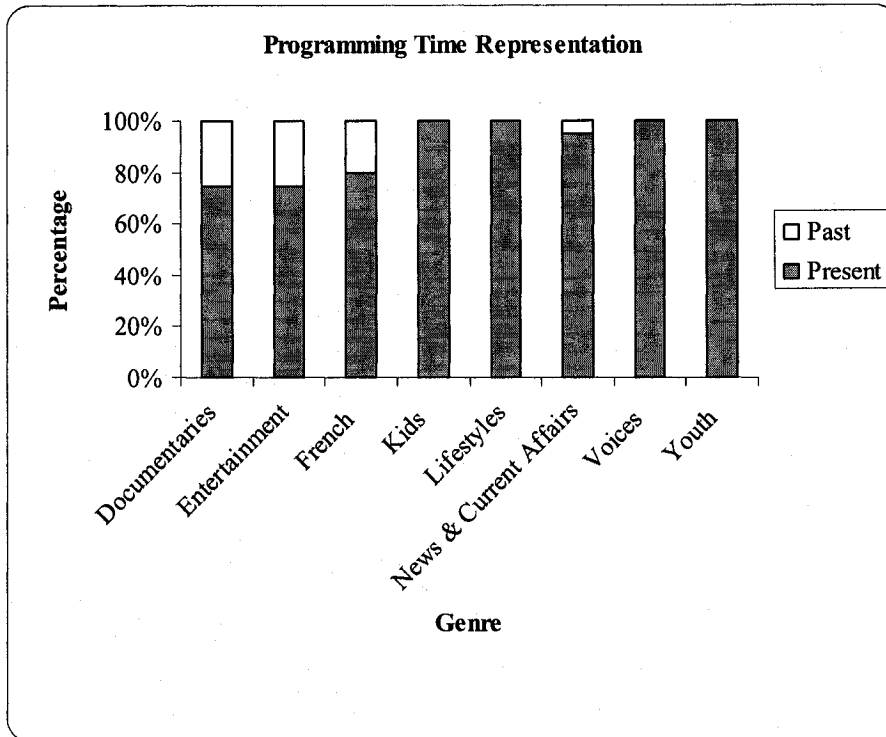
Figure 15: Programming Time Representation By Genre

Figure 15 indicates that the majority of APTN programming occurred in the present (92% in Table 8b, Appendix I) or demonstrated the lives of Aboriginal people as they are today as opposed to their lives as they were in the past.

Figure 16 indicates the primary environment for the programs. Environment refers to the setting in terms of Rural, Remote and Urban locations. Since many programs had multiple setting, the primary setting where the majority of the episode took place was counted. All total percentages are calculated in Table 8b in Appendix I.

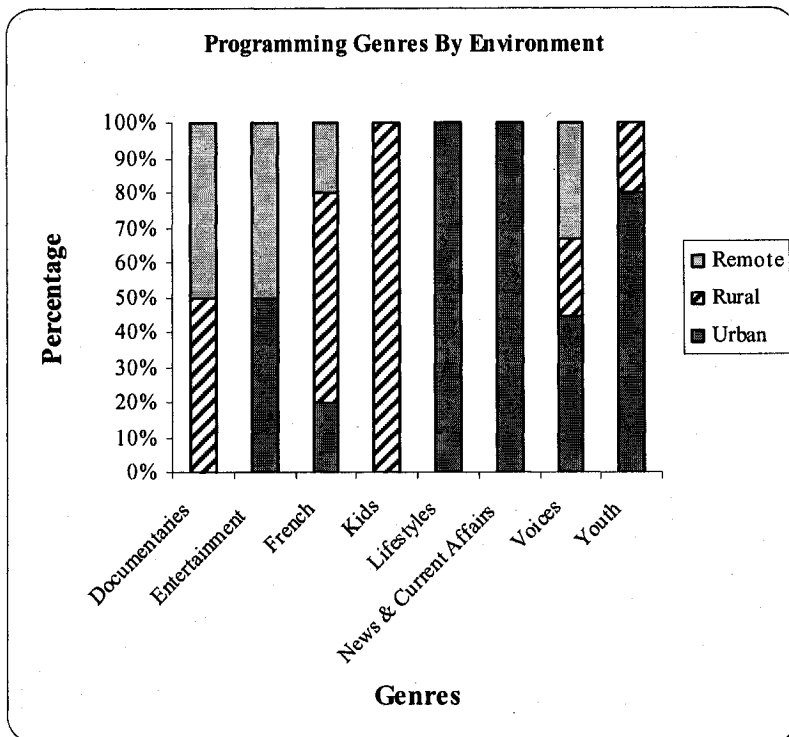
Figure 16: Programming Genres By Primary Environment

Figure 16 indicates that the majority of APTN programming took place in an Urban environment (66%). Nineteen percent of the programming was set in a Rural environment and 15% in Remote environments. Shows taking place in an Urban environment occurred 100% of the time in the Lifestyles and News and Current Affairs Genres. One-hundred percent of the shows in the Kids Genre took place in Rural environments. Fifty percent of the shows in the Documentaries Genre took place in Rural and 50% in Remote environments. Fifty percent of shows in the Entertainment Genre was set in Remote and 50% in Urban environments. The French and Voices Genres were the only two to be set in all three environments, with the French Genre set in 60% Rural and 20% in each Remote and Urban environments. Shows in the Voice Genre was set in Urban environments 44% of the time, 33% in Remote and 22% in Rural

environments. Eighty percent of shows in the Youth Genre were set in Urban and 20% in Rural environments.

Summary of Programming Results

The most significant theme of empowerment that reoccurred throughout the interview process involved APTN's mandate commitments (CRTC Decision 99-42, 1999):

APTN will offer a high-quality, general interest television service with a broad range of programming that *reflects* the diverse perspectives of Aboriginal peoples, their lives and cultures. APTN will, thus, provide a much-needed positive *window* on Aboriginal life for all Canadians, whether living in the North or in the South.

The notion that APTN provides a 'window' into Aboriginal cultures and reflecting the diverse perspectives of Aboriginal peoples was examined through the programming data analysis. Since *in-house* productions form the News and Current Affairs Genre, this *window* was examined in these shows. *In-house* production refers to the programs that are produced by the APTN rather than acquired from other producers. According to Levy, the APTN "commissions more independent production than just about any other broadcaster in the country" and the "vast majority of what [APTN does] comes from independent producers across the country." Thus, taking a specific focus on in-house production includes the perspectives of the peoples that are responsible for the News and Current Affairs broadcasts.

Of the 21 News and Current Affairs programs used in the program analysis, 100% of the primary stories involved issues concerning Aboriginal people, groups or reserves. Of the 14 APTN National News broadcasts, the six top stories for all 14 (100%) included

an emphasis on an Aboriginal issue or person. For instance, during the federal election coverage, all stories broadcast involved the Aboriginal voter turn out, coverage of the Aboriginal candidates, Aboriginal perspectives from the street on the election or reference to the party leaders' perspectives on Aboriginal issues. It is clear that APTN National News covers Aboriginal issues as its primary focus.

Furthermore, the perspectives on Aboriginal issues were those expressed by Aboriginal people. In all in-house production (100%), the news anchor or host is an Aboriginal person. When discussing the type of stories that get aired on these news broadcasts, Tim Fontaine, Researcher for the program Contact; Bruce Spence, Senior News Producer; and Ken Williams, Saskatoon Correspondent, agreed that the staff working on the stories had a direct impact on the type of stories eventually broadcast. Tim Fontaine, Bruce Spence and Ken Williams all self-identified as Aboriginal, as are the majority of the people in the news department, according to Deverell. Thus, not only is the News portraying stories concerning Aboriginal Peoples but involving the voices of APTN's Aboriginal staff as well, not unlike the shows in the Voices Genre, below.

All other genres of programming were analysed using a broader scale. Since all shows in the other Genres are acquisitions, APTN's own perspective or voice is not evident in the program's content. However, the other genres are considered in the mandate objectives of the APTN in terms of the larger Aboriginal community, and are therefore important to its success.

The majority of shows used in the analysis of APTN programming was in the category 'News and Current Affairs' which represented 21 of the 53 programs (40%). Of

this Genre, 100% included at least one Aboriginal person as the lead character or actor in the program.

The category “Voices” represented 9 of the 53 programs (17%) analyzed in the programming content. One hundred percent of the lead characters in the Voices Genre were Aboriginal and 33% of these programs were broadcast in an Aboriginal language. Although all Genres coded in the programming data were those held by the APTN in the 2006 APTN Programming Guide, it is evident that the Voices Genre represented the wider Aboriginal community voices than any other Genre. The shows in this category detailed the life histories of Aboriginal Peoples around the world both in the past and as they are today. Since 100% of the lead characters in this Genre were Aboriginal, as per the Solutions Research Group’s (2003) definition or as they were self-defined in the program, their perspectives or voices were represented.

The Genres Documentaries and Entertainment both represent 4 of the 52 programs used for coding respectively (8%). For both, at least one of the lead characters or actors was Aboriginal 100% of the time. Thus, the only genre, which did not have at least one actor or character in a leading role the majority of the time, was Infomercial, which incidentally is not one of the eight genres used by the APTN. The single infomercial program included in the programming analysis supports the fact that APTN is privately funded through advertising as well as subscriptions.

Figure 14 demonstrates the language of the program by genre, indicating that the majority of programs in the genres are broadcast in English (70%): Documentaries (25%); Entertainment (100%); French (0%); Kids (100%); Lifestyles (100%); News and Current Affairs (100%); Voices (11%); and Youth (100%).

Since 70% of the programs on the APTN were broadcast in English, it is above the 60% allowed as per its CRTC commitments. However, the sample of 53 programs represents only 21% of the 253 programs on the APTN Winter Schedule 2006 (APTN, 2006), which may account for the discrepancy. Furthermore, only 9% of APTN programming in the analysis was broadcast in French, as opposed to the 25% criteria in its CRTC commitments. Furthermore, a total of 8% of APTN programming was in Aboriginal languages, which did not meet the criteria of its CRTC commitments of 15%.

However, thirteen percent of APTN programming was in *both* English and Aboriginal languages having the technology of closed captioning for one or the other, placing the Aboriginal languages content above the 15% mandate objective. This 13% closed captioning occurred exclusively in the Documentary and Voices Genres.

Therefore, the APTN programming analysis used in this thesis formulates the fourth point of the APTN institutional model of empowerment. It is clear that both the visual representation of Aboriginal people on screen and the perspectives of Aboriginal people in the News have been well represented in the programming.

However, an argument may develop in terms of the languages used on APTN programs. Figure 14 demonstrates that the majority of APTN programming was in English and not in Aboriginal languages. This fact demonstrates that contemporary Aboriginal people speak English as do the majority of informants at the APTN. The fact that many Aboriginal Peoples speak English as their first language, however, does not make them less *authentically* Aboriginal. This argument is based on the theoretical framework for the thesis in Chapter 4: Reflexive, Constructivist Postmodernism, and is summarized in the final point of the APTN institutional model of empowerment

developed below. However, Spence clarifies APTN's role in inter-group communication as an Aboriginal industry:

...the basis or course is our language and by that way we preserve ourselves as a people. In this essence, we have to have a CreePTN. A Cree Peoples Television Network. And the Algonquians have to do the same, the Mohawk have to do the same, the Micmac have to do the same, the fifty different tribal groups in British Columbia have to do the same. If they do that, that's fine, but we still have to communicate with each other and that's where APTN comes in.

APTN's programming, according to the programming analysis of this project suggests the APTN represents Aboriginal Peoples as they are today and it must be able to do so across the different cultural groups. This cross-cultural communication requires the use of English as the primary language. As Spence and others suggest, "we have to communicate somehow...English reaches the greatest number of people, whether a necessary evil or not".

Summary of Results and Conclusion

The construction of a model of empowerment has been achieved using the methods outlined in Chapter 5. The results of this project have been expressed in this chapter in four sections. The first outlines the APTN as a grass roots organizations. The second demonstrates four structural components of the APTN. The third section suggests that the APTN informants expressed empowerment using seven specific words and thirteen different themes, all relating to either the effects APTN has had on them personally or in reference to the structural components, and finally, that APTN programming demonstrates an Aboriginal voice perceived as one that is missing in the mainstream Canadian media.

Therefore according to the data collected in this research, empowerment for the

APTN is defined as:

The set of opportunities granted to Aboriginal staff members including the Mentorship program, financial compensation, conference and workshop experiences and the ability to learn or re-learn about their cultural heritages both through APTN programming and staff involvement. Furthermore, APTN empowerment is the ability to have the perspectives of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada, their heritages, their cultures and their stories portrayed on television, with the potential for changing the hegemony, and resulting in the benefit of Aboriginal Peoples.

APTN is thus, an institutional model of empowerment for Aboriginal Peoples in Canada based on these five points constructed from the results of the study and are presented in the final chapter.

Conclusion: Implications of Research, Limitations and Future Studies
Chapter 7

The objective of this thesis was to examine the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) as an institutional model of empowerment for Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. This objective is achieved through a review of the literature involving Aboriginal media, the historical analysis of the APTN, the theoretical and methodological considerations and the six-step methods of the project. The results of the project suggest that the APTN is an institutional model of empowerment based on five principles outlined in Chapter 6 constructed by the research process. The result is a definition of empowerment based on the interview and programming data.

Empowerment for the APTN is the ability to have the perspectives of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada, their heritages, their cultures and their stories portrayed on television. Furthermore, empowerment comes as the set of opportunities granted to Aboriginal staff members that they feel they would not have gained otherwise, and the ability to learn or re-learn about their cultural heritages through programming and staff interaction. APTN is a tool for Aboriginal self-identification, expression and development.

APTN's definition of empowerment identifies its position within the theoretical debate concerning Aboriginal media as a Faustian Contract. As noted Chapter 2, a Faustian Contract is an allusion to Goethe's play *Faust*, and the legend that the German Doctor George Faustus sold his soul to the devil in exchange for advanced knowledge in alchemy (Bates, 1969). Harder clarifies the debate as a paradox, "the media can be crucial in helping [Aboriginal groups] in the struggle for justice, but at the same time the images in the media contribute to the misunderstanding and confusion that is prevalent in the dominant societies" (1995: 23). Since the APTN provides an institutional case study of the empowerment achieved through the use of a medium, it is an important contributor to the discourse involving Aboriginal media in the paradox context. Furthermore, the use

of this tool enables other indigenous groups or organizations struggling for similar goals of representation, to use the APTN model and devise their own television networks and projects. Thus, the theoretical significance of the APTN is presented as the final component of the institutional model of empowerment and highlights its potential for changing the hegemonic portrayal of Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian media.

Implications of Research

The final point in defining the APTN as an institutional model of empowerment involves the theoretical significance examined in Chapter 4 (64) and argues that using anthropological reflexivity and constructivism is the most appropriate approach for studying the APTN model of empowerment. Thus, a summary of Chapter 4 is necessary for understanding the significance of the results presented in Chapter 6.

The early 20th century portrayal of Aboriginal identity on television was based on the stereotypes held by non-Aboriginal peoples at the time. Such portrayals are evident in the early anthropological work of Tylor (1964 [1865]), and Boas (1964 [1888]) expressed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. Roth (2005) suggests, the historical portrayal of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada's North have often involved the 'romanticization' of their identities for the benefit of non-Aboriginal Canadians. The romanticization of these peoples refers to the ways Northern Peoples are portrayed as remote objects present in the most uninhabitable places and the Eskimo as the noble savage, primitive and uncivilized (Roth, 1995, 2002a, 2005). Ultimately, these stereotypical representations formulate the hegemonic understanding of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada and are still evident today.

Suggesting that the stereotypical portrayals of Aboriginal Peoples created the hegemonic ideals of Aboriginal identity today is a result of Gramsci's (1971: 12) definition:

1. The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is "historically" caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.
2. The apparatus of state coercive power which "legally" enforces discipline on those groups who do not "consent" either actively or passively. This apparatus is, however, constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of moments of crisis of command and direction when spontaneous consent has failed.

Chapter 2 explains that the hegemonic ideology concerning Aboriginal Peoples was both "historically" created through stereotypical portrayals, and "legally" enforced through legislation and by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Furthermore, the APTN provides an alternative perspective on Aboriginal people's identities in the Canadian media and supports the APTN as an institutional model of empowerment in two ways. First, the 1960's brought about a shift in ideology concerning the potential media held for representing Aboriginal people in Canada's North. The perspective that the media are a mechanism of assimilation enforced by non-Aboriginals, shifted to the acknowledgement that the media held potential for Aboriginal people wishing to represent themselves. The key was in the ability to gain control over the media source, for the benefit of the Aboriginal communities.

This first point of the APTN model of empowerment suggests that the APTN is a 'grass roots' medium, run by and for the benefit of Aboriginal Peoples. Second, the fact that APTN provides an alternative perspective of Aboriginal Peoples' identities, as

supported in the programming content analysis and the CRTC, indicates that APTN is crucial to the Canadian Broadcasting Act's (1991) commitment to diversity on television. According to informant responses, the APTN is also considered mandatory to the CRTC's mandate commitments. Thus, the theoretical significance of APTN, as a part of the Canadian media, is that its representations of Aboriginal Peoples have the potential to change the hegemonic understanding of Aboriginal identities through the self-representations evident as per the program coding results. Since APTN is achieving its mandate goals concerning programming, and continues to develop and improve this service, it supports APTN as necessary to the CRTC's objectives of diversity on television.

Furthermore, identifying the theoretical significance of the APTN⁸⁹ institutional model of empowerment includes the methodology of Strathern (1991), and the reflexive aspect of anthropological fieldwork. Chapter 5: Methodology and Methods supports this type of research as the most appropriate when researching 'other' groups of people, or institutions. Reflexivity refers to the ability to examine both the role of the informants and the role of the researcher in the eventual results of the project. Reflexivity indicates that these negotiations and knowledge building are processes that occur in all research therefore, highlighting this methodology as a process in the research design that maintains more appropriate and significant results (Jensen and Lauritsen, 2005). Reflexivity was attempted throughout the research process in terms of an open-ended question guide, the use of informant words for discussing power and empowerment, reoccurring themes in the interviews about the benefits APTN provides and the

overwhelming sense that the informants really believed in the APTN's goals and in its future.

Strathern's (1991) theory also supports the idea of APTN as a tool for self-representation because a 'tool' is a "vehicle for translating social life" (1991: 126). Strathern suggests that tools are extensions of our identities and abilities. When Strathern thinks of herself as both an anthropologist and a feminist, "feminist scholarship becomes an aid or tool; it introduces thoughts [she] would not otherwise entertain" (1991: 39). The APTN can be defined as a tool for Aboriginal people to express their identities and to self-represent and therefore, 'translate social life' through its programming service, as per informant responses regarding APTN programming and the program coding results. Thus, the use of APTN as a tool is empowering because it allows Aboriginal people to express their own identities as well as having the control over the portrayals.

The second theorist considered in the theory of APTN as an institutional model of empowerment is McLuhan who can be used to tie the reflexive anthropology of Strathern to communication studies. For McLuhan, the effects of media are that "everybody experiences far more than he [or she] understands. Yet it is experience, rather than understanding, that influence behaviour, especially in collective matters of media and technology, where the individual is almost inevitably unaware of their effect upon him [or her]" (1994 [1964]: 318). McLuhan's statement of television's effects on society corresponds with Gramsci's definition of hegemony. Since society is influenced by the media, even when it is unaware of it, APTN programming has the potential to influence the hegemonic understanding of Aboriginal identity in society.

Furthermore, McLuhan (1967) also suggests that “all media are extensions of some human faculty- psychic or physical” and “extensions of any one sense alters the way we think and act- the way we perceive the world” (page numbers unnoted in text). This definition of extension is the same definition Strathern gives for tool, above. Therefore, both McLuhan and Strathern contribute to the idea that communication is a potential space for power, supporting APTN as a model of empowerment for Aboriginal people traditionally marginalized by the media.

Other theoretical significance of the APTN model includes the postmodernist portrayal of Aboriginal people’s identities employed by the APTN. As suggested, APTN programming represent Aboriginal people as they are today, in both present time (51 of the 53 programs) and in languages used by Aboriginal people. Furthermore, Chapter 2 and 3 indicate that *authentic* portrayals of Aboriginal people must be renegotiated to include the representations supplied by the people themselves. Thus, since it is evident that APTN provides an Aboriginal perspective and voice, supported by both the content analysis of this project and by the CRTC, APTN provides representations of Aboriginal Peoples as they want to be represented. Authentic representations of Aboriginal people can therefore include languages that are not considered ‘traditional Aboriginal languages’ because many Aboriginal people today speak English (and other languages). Thus, APTN provides representations of Aboriginal people’s identities that help shift the hegemonic understanding of *authenticity* to include the self-represented portrayals of Aboriginal people.

Furthermore, the portrayal of Aboriginal people on APTN presents Aboriginal identities as having the ability to shift and change, or as Knauff suggests, “[c]ulture is

now best seen not as an integrated entity, tied to a fixed group of people, but as a shifting and contested process of constructing collective identity (1996: 44). Thus, by portraying Aboriginal people using a non-traditional language, demonstrating their shifting identities, it supports that APTN is representing Aboriginal people as they are today. Thus, APTN does not suggest that the Aboriginal people portrayed are less authentic, by not using a majority of Aboriginal language in the programming, but that they have cultural identities that are shifting. In other words, having a lot of programming in Ojibwa or Algonquian, for example, would only be specific to a few individuals simply because so few speak these languages. For a national television network, speaking to the wider Aboriginal community becomes the focus, and is maintained in APTN's 60% English programming commitment.

Therefore, the final point in the APTN institutional model of empowerment summarizes the theoretical significance explored in Chapter 4: Reflexive, Constructivist, Postmodernism of this thesis. APTN is thus a tool that empowers Aboriginal people by self-representation and attempts to represent Aboriginal Peoples using a postmodern definition of culture. In terms of the theoretical Faustian Contract of Aboriginal media, APTN provides a model to support Aboriginal media as empowering rather than as a device for assimilation into the mainstream. The APTN case study provides a model of empowerment that is unique in the world (Roth, 2005), and thus an important element to the theoretical debate regarding Aboriginal participation in the media.

Limitations

As in every academic study, there are several limitations and problematic conditions of the research that can not be avoided. In the interview process, the word

“empowerment” was not meant to be expressed by the researcher to influence the informant. This is demonstrated in Appendix B: Interview Consent Form, which does not imply the project is about empowerment. However, many informants, after reading the consent form, inquired as to the nature of the project. At this point, the researcher informed them of the intentions, suggesting that empowerment may be the direction taken by the research.

However, multiculturalism, diversity and identity were also discussed, with numerous informants, as possible directions the research could take. The intentions were to approach the research with a reflexive perspective, allowing both the researcher’s knowledge and the knowledge gained through informant perspective to play out in the analysis. The direction of empowerment became the clear emphasis of the project just before the site visit to Winnipeg and during the interview data analysis. The need for a programming content analysis became necessary only after the interview data were collected, forming the basis for the coding process. Yet, it must be recognized that the researcher did influence the informant in terms of the word ‘empowerment’ as a reflexive component to any research project. Reflexivity occurs in all interactions, including academic projects, and, thus, cannot be avoided. By allowing the researcher to make conscious decisions, it may provide a more ethical direction of the research itself (Jansen and Lauritsen, 2005).

Secondly, Canadian Cable Television Association (CCTC) data suggest that 99% of Canadian household own a television (2003) indicating television as the most widely used medium in Canada. However, now more so than ever, the television set is used for other technologies other than programming such as video camera hook-up, digital image

display, movie rentals, video games, video conferencing, personal computer compatibility, to play music and other conceivable technologies. Thus, the total time that television is used in the traditional sense, (i.e. in terms of watching television) is unknown by the CCTC. Monitoring the number of television sets in Canadian homes does not signify that the majority of Canadians are watching television programming.

Furthermore, in terms of Aboriginal populations watching television, Nelson Television ratings services do not incorporate on-reserve data. There is a lack of indicators that reserve communities have access to television programming such as the APTN (according to Kist). APTN's ability to empower Aboriginal Peoples in Canada may be limited by the fact that evidence from on-reserve community viewership is missing from both the Nelson ratings and APTN's private data analysis. The evidence to support APTN's potential to reflect the identities and voices of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada may be limited if reserve communities are not cable ready. However, evidence from the APTN website indicates that APTN is reaching their target audience, despite the missing measurements from Nelson (according to Boge).

However, Boge suggests that APTN does indeed reach Aboriginal populations across the country. As the Audience Relations Coordinator she receives countless letters emails and phone calls from Aboriginal viewers commenting on APTN's programming. Although Nelson and other private studies were unable to calculate the overall Aboriginal viewer data, there is evidence to suggest that APTN is indeed reaching its target audience.

The present data limitations provide the scope for future projects concerning the APTN's empowerment. Arguably, most reserve communities may have access to

satellite television, which is provided by major cable providers like Rogers or Bell-Sympatico. If this is the case, these companies may have access to subscription numbers for their customers on reserves or their accounts with the Canadian government if these services are federally funded.

Future Direction of Studies

As in every research project there are several parameters that must be placed on the research investigation in order to make the project feasible. Throughout this thesis, it has been suggested that the APTN provides Aboriginal Peoples the opportunity to change the hegemonic understanding of Aboriginal identities in Canada. However, support that this shift in ideology is occurring is outside the parameters of the project. As a result, the focus remains on the APTN at the institutional level and on the Aboriginal Peoples involved, rather than on wider Aboriginal community across Canada, that requires survey data. As a necessary future direction that this thesis has provided is exactly this second step: providing viewer data to further support (or not support) APTN as a tool of empowerment for the larger Aboriginal community.

This direction is supported by the data collected at the site visit to the APTN head office. Several internal studies have been conducted that provide evidence to support that, not only are Aboriginal populations watching APTN, but there is a strong second audience comprised of a diversity of ethnicities (Brave Strategy, 2005). According to Brave Strategy (2005) Canadians from varied diversities are watching APTN, outlining the future direction and second step in evaluating the APTN. Furthermore, the website APTN.ca has an online forum, which, enables APTN viewers to discuss the programming, and numerous topics from politics to educational programs for Aboriginal

students, as a process of communication. Further studies into the APTN online forum could also support the model of empowerment by using an alternate media, such as the internet, to further communicate the stories and voices of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. Throughout this thesis, it has been suggested that APTN promises important insight into empowerment strategy as a model for other institutions looking to benefit other marginalized groups around the world. Providing the APTN *institutional* model for the achievement of success is the first step in the analysis.

As a result, this thesis provides evidence that empowerment strategies may be achieved if the institution is created as a grass roots organization, if there are several structural components ingrained in the institution's mandate and objectives, if the employees of the institution express their personal feelings of empowerment based on the opportunities and benefits the network provides, if the service the institution provides meets its mandate commitments and continues to demonstrate growth and productivity and if the institution is used as a tool for the self-representation of people traditionally marginalized from mainstream culture. Thus, the APTN model of empowerment is a powerful tool for development strategy for the future and demonstrates the power Aboriginal people have acquired while struggling for their rightful position and voice in the Canadian media.

Notes

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- ¹ A tool refers to an aid to help perform a specific task. Strathern (1991) employs the terms *extension* and *tool* interchangeably and defines them using her ability to be both anthropologist and feminist. “[W]hen I think of myself as an anthropologist, feminist scholarship becomes an aid or tool; it introduces thoughts I would not otherwise entertain” (1991: 39).
- ² The White Paper is a result of a Royal Commission on the State of Canadian Indians in 1969 and was produced by the Department of Indian Affairs under the Trudeau government’s direction.
- ³ The idea of *authenticity* is revisited in the last objective of the literature review and Chapter 4.
- ⁴ Grenier (1994) refers to the Kanesatake and Kahnawake Peoples as Native Indians and this is used interchangeably with Aboriginal Peoples for the purposes of this thesis.
- ⁵ Appadurai (2001) refers to the wide array of media, such as television and all of its networks with their competing perspectives, radio, print media, etc...
- ⁶ “The CRTC will certify as Canadian if they meet the following criteria: the producer is Canadian; key creative personnel are Canadian; 75% of service costs and post-production lab costs are paid to Canadians” (CRTC Canadian Content, 2005).
- ⁷ American content refers to the conditions of CRTC Canadian Content (2005) as being fulfilled by American companies or producers.
- ⁸ Chapter 6.
- ⁹ “the recovery of Indigenous knowledge is a conscious and systematic effort to revalue that which has been denigrated and revive that which has been destroyed” (Wilson, 2004: 359).
- ¹⁰ Competence refers to how well the company and its employees feel with the company’s products or services and core competence is the mechanism for which competence is achieved throughout the company (Goddard, 1997).
- ¹¹ Based on business models and shareholder information, based on walmartstores.com, where Wal-Mart, employees are considered “Associates”.
- ¹² Refers to the Aboriginal Peoples traditionally inhabiting Australia’s Northern Territory.
- ¹³ The lack of consultation with the Inuit in northern Canada is presented in Alia (1999) and Roth (1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2005).

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- ¹⁴ Broadcasting in Remote Aboriginal Communities Service.
- ¹⁵ Central Australia Aboriginal Media Association.
- ¹⁶ The Aboriginal run company that is the license holder for the central zone commercial television license.
- ¹⁷ Professor, New York University.
- ¹⁸ 'Faustian Contract' is an allusion to Goethe's play, *Faust* and the legend that the German Doctor George Faustus had sold his soul to the devil in exchange for advanced knowledge in alchemy and other forbidden things (Bates, 1969).
- ¹⁹ "Tylor presented systematic data from neighbouring ethnic groups to illustrate his thesis, and by doing so he appeared firmly to establish the scientific stature of the discipline. But in the audience was the famous scientist, Francis Galton, who also dabbled in anthropology. He apparently asked a question that has plagued the discipline ever since" (Barrett, 1996: 53).
- ²⁰ Reflexivity refers to the constant renegotiation of both the researcher's role and voice in the process as well as the role and voice of the participants, to constantly evaluate the power dynamic between the two (Strathern, 1991).
- ²¹ , Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Communication Studies at Concordia University in Ottawa.
- ²² Roth (1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2005) utilises the term "First Peoples" to best represent the groups of individuals referred throughout this project as Aboriginal. This thesis interprets these two concepts to mean the same groups of peoples.
- ²³ Literally meaning "eaters of raw meat" given to the Inuit by the Algonkian nations prior to the 19th century and used by non-Aboriginal peoples when they entered the North (Roth, 1982).
- ²⁴ For further examples of this taxonomy, refer to the *Handbook of Indians in Canada*" (1913), published by the Canadian Geographic Society.
- ²⁵ Herbert Spencer's "Survival of the fittest" (1896) or Charles Darwin's (1968 [1859]) "Natural Selection" found their way into social theory in the 19th century.
- ²⁶ Cultural relativity refers to a methodological consideration developed in the early 20th century by Anthropologist Frans Boas. Cultural relativity suggests that one's perspective on an issue such as gender hierarchy or social stratification is shaped by one's culture. Thus, judgement on that culture may not be supposed by the anthropologist because he/ she is not a part of that culture. This is a serious debate in

anthropology concerning the actual ability of a researcher to remain culturally relativity. It poses the question of universal forms of justice and its application across cultures. This debate is often shaped by the heated discussion of female circumcision and human justice. Consequently, cultural relativity in anthropology poses a serious threat to the discipline's future.

- ²⁷ Chapter 4, Roth (2002b) suggests how this reflexive approach can be applied to studies involving First Peoples through Participatory Action Research (PAR) which encourages the study group to play an active role in the research process. PAR and other reflexive studies provide the group a voice, and for Roth (2002b) an important ethical consideration for research today. The theoretical approach used in this thesis (Chapter 4) indicates this methodology (Jensen and Lauritsen, 2005).
- ²⁸ The *Handbook of Indians in Canada* (1913) employs Boas' perspective for defining Aboriginal Peoples, characteristics or languages as an authoritative source for the data. This guide was published as an aid or tool for fieldwork in all disciplines.
- ²⁹ Chapter 2.
- ³⁰ In Inuktitut it means 'brother' and was part of a Canada-wide competition for naming the satellites (Roth, 1982).
- ³¹ See Chapter 2 and Chapter 5.
- ³² Grass-roots is "a process in which individuals and organizations gain control and mastery over social economic conditions, over democratic participation in their communities and *over their own stories*" (Melkote and Steeves, 2001: 37).
- ³³ This special status is recognized in Roth's project and is a focus for this thesis.
- ³⁴ See Roth (2005) pages 126-127, for the seven points. They are not crucial to outlining the APTN's history, but are important to note for their plan of a separate Inuit Broadcasting system.
- ³⁵ Such associated networks included: the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC), the Inuvialuit Communications Society, Northern Native Broadcasting, the OKakaKatiget Society, Taqramiut Nipingat Incorporated, the Native Communications Society of the Western NWT, the Government of the Northwest Territories, Yukon College, and the National Aboriginal Communications Society (Roth, 2005: 188-189).
- ³⁶ This subscription fee has since been increased to \$0.25 per household, per month as per the 1995 Licence renewal (CRTC Decision 2005-445, 2005).
- ³⁷ During the interview process at the APTN in October, 2005 the idea of the 'first of firsts' was articulated by Francine Compton, Studio Director (Interview Data, October

13, 2005). From this point, Compton suggests, APTN was accomplishing things for the first time ever, on both large and small-scale projects.

³⁸ Chapter 5.

³⁹ Chapter 5.

⁴⁰ “Tylor presented systematic data from neighbouring ethnic groups to illustrate his thesis, and by doing so he appeared firmly to establish the scientific stature of the discipline. But in the audience was the famous scientist, Francis Galton, who also dabbled in anthropology. He apparently asked a question that has plagued the discipline ever since: how did Professor Tylor know if the individual societies for which he had data were truly independent cases, rather than being contaminated by diffusion?” (Barrett, 1996: 53)

⁴¹ APTN (2005d) in Appendix G: APTN Milestones.

⁴² Partial refers to incomplete.

⁴³ Fractals refers to incomplete things, in pieces.

⁴⁴ Reflexivity refers to the constant renegotiation of both the researcher’s role and voice in the process as well as the role and voice of the participants, to constantly evaluate the power dynamic between the two (Strathern, 1991).

⁴⁵ Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

⁴⁶ Chapter 2.

⁴⁷ ‘Faustian Contract’ is an allusion to Goethe’s play, *Faust* and the legend that the German Doctor George Faustus had sold his soul to the devil in exchange for advanced knowledge in alchemy and other forbidden things (Bates, 1969).

⁴⁸ A tool refers to an aid to help perform a specific task. Strathern (1991) employs the terms *extension* and *tool* interchangeably and defines them using her ability to be both anthropologist and feminist. “[W]hen I think of myself as an anthropologist, feminist scholarship becomes an aid or tool; it introduces thoughts I would not otherwise entertain” (1991: 39).

⁴⁹ Roth (2002b) suggests research and development projects looking to aid indigenous or cultural groups in the third and fourth world require the methodological strategy of Participatory Action Research (PAR) to ensure the successful application in these communities. Furthermore, this strategy ensures the voices of the parties involved in the attainment of goals and project success in general. PAR is a “grass-roots” strategy of development.

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- ⁵⁰ For a discussion of authenticity refer to Stuart Hall (1997). Hall refers to the museum's role of representing 'authentic' versions of cultural groups through the use of artefacts. What Hall insists that this recreation and construction of authenticity should be critiqued, and is a condition of Western knowledge. Western knowledge is based on modernity's constructions, and thus Hall allows for the deconstruction and discussion of the problems with such knowledge.
- ⁵¹ Appendix D.
- ⁵² Mendelbrot (1982: 4) claims to have "coined *fractal* from the latin adjective *fractus*. The corresponding Latin verb *frangere* means 'to break:' to create irregular fragments. It is therefore sensible-and how appropriate for our needs! - that, in addition to 'fragmented' (as in *fraction* or *refraction*) -- *fractus* should also mean 'irregular,' both meanings being preserved in *fragment*."
- ⁵³ It may also be argued that fractal geometry and the chaos sciences actually influenced the spread of postmodernism, as in the case of Strathern (1991). It is not important whether postmodernism influenced mathematics or whether mathematics influenced postmodernism. What is important is the interconnected nature of the disciplines to borrow and learn from one another.
- ⁵⁴ Leaving the page numbers un-noted in the text further demonstrates McLuhan's objection to accepted constructions. All academic work requires page numbers, however this text has none. Furthermore, McLuhan's text is read in circles for text is written upside down and sideways on several pages.
- ⁵⁵ Reflexivity refers to the constant renegotiations of both the researcher's role and voice in the process as well as the role and voice of the participants, to constantly evaluate the power dynamic between the two (Strathern, 1991). See also Chapter 4: Reflexive, Constructivist Postmodernism.
- ⁵⁶ Constructivism refers to a postmodern theory that challenge the idea that society and culture are organized around a concrete (whole) set of rules or laws, like the physical sciences. Constructivists accept that Western philosophy is based on the premise of categorization, and thus does not portray society and culture as they "are", but rather as they have been constructed. See also Chapter 4: Reflexive, Constructivist Postmodernism.
- ⁵⁷ This study was suggested to the researcher by the Director of Marketing at the APTN for it's inclusion of the APTN in its evaluations, making it essential to the analysis of this project
- ⁵⁸ This individual has since left the company but will continue to be referred to this position as Director of Human Resources due to his role in the project.
- ⁵⁹ Appendix A: Interview Consent Form.

- ⁶⁰ Note that these individuals all signed the consent form for the ability to use their names and verbatim quotations in this study. Those who did not approve the use of their names will appear simply as 'an informant'.
- ⁶¹ Note: the # column does not correspond to the order of the interviews as the table is arranged by rank.
- ⁶² The APTN Winter 2006 Programming Schedule is from 6:00am to 4:00am Eastern Time.
- ⁶³ Scale refers to the term developed in Strathern (1991). See Theory and Application section of thesis.
- ⁶⁴ See Appendix E: Head Office Hierarchy Table.
- ⁶⁵ Ranking informants is not presented in the literature necessarily, however the idea of *partial* perspectives is presented in Chapter 5: Reflexive, Constructive Postmodernism on page: 87-88. A theory of partial perspectives allows for the assumption that all individuals have their own perspective on the particular question or subject based on their own identities within their organization. Thus, the status or rank within their institution may have a bearing on how they perceive their own power or the power of the organization itself.
- ⁶⁶ These individuals were unavailable for discussion and/ or were not a topic of conversation of the other employees using gender-specific codes, such as 'he' or 'she'. Furthermore, the gender breakdown is based on the staff present at the APTN head Office in October, 2005.
- ⁶⁷ See Appendix F: APTN Programming Schedule Slice.
- ⁶⁸ Chapter 4: Reflexive, Constructive Postmodernism.
- ⁶⁹ See Chapter 4: History of Aboriginal Television in Canada and the Creation of the APTN, page: 64, specifically the examples of anthropological interpretation of Inuit Peoples in Tylor (1964 [1865]) and Boas (1964 [1888]).
- ⁷⁰ Also Appendix E: Head Office Hierarchy Chart.
- ⁷¹ Appendix H, Table 2a and Table 2b: The Themes of Empowerment.
- ⁷² Now Manager of Human Resources.
- ⁷³ Frontier College was established by Reverend Alfred Fitzpatrick in 1899 (Morrison, 1989).

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- ⁷⁴ Including Promotions Producer, Brett Huson and Editor, Scott Carnegie. Derrick Baxter also expressed his career goals for web design and the significant role APTN has played in developing his abilities.
- ⁷⁵ Field Notes, October 12, 2005.
- ⁷⁶ Note that the nature of open-ended questions does not formalize this statement.
- ⁷⁷ From Chapter 4: Reflexive, Constructivist Postmodernism: Strathern and McLuhan, page: 64 meaning the constant renegotiations of both the researcher's role and voice in the process as well as the role and voice of the participants, to constantly evaluate the power dynamic between the two (Strathern, 1991).
- ⁷⁸ Tables 2a, 2b and 2c in Appendix H.
- ⁷⁹ In the context of non-Aboriginal informants this was suggested as an Aboriginal perspective or voice, rather than as an informant identifying as an Aboriginal.
- ⁸⁰ Researcher for the program Contact.
- ⁸¹ This was also used in the context on non-Aboriginal informants in terms of their own experience learning about Aboriginal culture.
- ⁸² Refer to Tables 3a and 3b in Appendix H.
- ⁸³ Tables 4a and 4b in Appendix H.
- ⁸⁴ Refer to Tables 5a and 5b, 6 in Appendix H.
- ⁸⁵ It would be inappropriate to indicate the informants who discussed this theme since it would also indicate the different media institutions at which they experienced racism. Furthermore, one of the informants who wishes to be left unnamed in the thesis would also be implicated with the media institutions mentioned and thus would not follow the ethical guidelines followed in the project's development.
- ⁸⁶ The responses of visible minority informants are not significant enough to include, and are thus correlated with the results of the white informants.
- ⁸⁷ Refer to Tables 7a & 7b in Appendix H.
- ⁸⁸ Refer to Tables 8a & 8b in Appendix H.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Consent Form

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This letter is in acknowledgement of the duties and responsibilities of conducting sociological and anthropological research in the area of human involvement. Both the intentions of this study and the commitments to any involved policy statement will be followed to the best of the researcher's ability. All of the details of the research are open to the participant.

This study seeks to define the goals and commitments of the APTN and AVR in their attempts to give voice to Aboriginal viewers and listeners living in Canada. With the cooperation of several APTN and AVR staff and Board members, I am attempting to investigate how APTN broadcasting and other Aboriginal media achieves their goals for content, funding and voice. This study proposes to look at the Aboriginal Media to demonstrate and define communication for all peoples in Canada and what this means for the future of multiculturalism. Specifically, this project is interested in the participant's perspective on their affiliation's role in multicultural activism and their perspectives on the larger-scale APTN, available to all Canadians with basic cable packages.

The psychological risks of the study may include the personal questioning between the participant's own goals and aspirations for APTN and AVR versus those expressed at the APTN and AVR institutional level. These goals may conflict, and thus the participant may question or worry about their responses.

The social risks are those involved with the type of information provided in the interview. The goals of the Board Members, staff and volunteers of any affiliation, often coincide with the goals of the institution itself however, sometimes there are personal conflicts within the administration that may cause some answers to pose a risk to the participant. Furthermore, there are risks involved by the implications of Aboriginal research conducted by a non-Aboriginal scholar, or what is referred to as "researched to death". This can increase the divide between Aboriginal and mainstream academia. Trust between the researcher and the participant, due to this conceptualization of research, may cause the participant to feel at risk. This research is important because it allows the conversations and ideas of these groups to be heard on behalf of their organizations, in their own voices. The goal is to allow the participants own perspectives to be appropriately represented.

All risks to the participant may occur in their everyday life, and the interview is not meant to increase this risk.

The interview transcription will be kept confidential to the researcher and kept in a safe place in the researcher's home. This place is a locked compartment, requiring a key. The researcher's home computer is password protected, and all copies of the transcript will be on a password protected portable drive (a Cruzer Titanium 512 MB). These are the only places the transcript, personal notes and data of the research project are to be stored and kept for five years.

The participant will have access to the finished document via Mr. Kent Brown (APTN) or Mr. Roy Hennessy (AVR). Mr Brown and Mr. Hennessy will be sent a paper

copy of the finished document upon their verbal or written requests. The reproduction of the whole or a part of the finished paper requires the written consent from either the researcher or the Project Director, Dr. Cecil Foster.

Two copies of this consent form will be signed. One copy for the participant and one copy for the researcher.

- Page 2 of 2 -

- There will be a digital recording device used in the interview to guarantee accuracy of the participant's statement. This information will ONLY be used by the researcher conducting this interview, and will be stored in the researcher's private home.
- Financial compensation for the participant will not be given.
- The length of the interview will not exceed one hour out of respect for the participant's time.

The participant is free to withdraw from the study, not complete any section of the interview, or retract statements, without penalty AT ANY TIME, even after consent.

The participant is free to decline to answer any question they do not feel comfortable answering, at any time, without penalty.

I have read this form and acknowledge that I have been given sufficient information regarding the study.

YES NO I give my consent to the audio-taping of my interview.

YES NO The researcher may use quotations from my interview in the final paper.

YES NO The researcher can use my name in the final paper.

I acknowledge that I can stop the interview at any time without penalty. I acknowledge that this interview will record my name unless I otherwise indicate. I acknowledge that at any time, I can contact the researcher and ask to have my interview or specific parts of the interview removed from the study. I acknowledge that I may ask the researcher any questions involving the nature of the study if it is not clear.

Signature of participant: _____

Date:

Signature of Researcher: _____

Date:

Project Director: Cecil Foster, Assistant Professor, University of Guelph
e-mail: cfoster@uoguelph.ca (Note: Cecil Foster was replaced by Linda Gerber after the interview process.)

Researcher: Karen Richards, MA Candidate, University of Guelph
e-mail: kricha03@uoguelph.ca

Appendix B: Basic Open-Ended Question Guide for Interviews with APTN staff

1. How did you become involved with the APTN?
 - a. What were the developments that lead you to work at the APTN?
 - b. When did you first get involved with media?
2. What would you consider to be an important part or responsibility of media in this country?
 - a. Do(es) the APTN provide these (specific) responsibilities, how/ how not?
 - b. Do(es) the APTN define its own role? How/ how not?
3. Does 'Aboriginal media in Canada', define where the APTN position is situated?
 - a. What is Aboriginal media?
 - b. Is there a better title or description that may be more accurate?
 - c. Where do(es) the APTN fit in, in terms of Canadian media?
4. How would you define the roles of the APTN?
 - a. What are the specific goals or aspirations?
 - b. What does the APTN represent for you?
5. Would you identify yourself with this organization or would you say this organization helps to define you as a person, why/ why not?
 - a. How would you define your role at the APTN?
 - b. Would you consider your role to be satisfying for your career, your future aspirations, how/ how not?
6. What group or individual decides what programs are to be aired/ written?
 - a. What pressures do you think these groups or individuals must acknowledge?
 - b. How much freedom do these groups or individuals have in these decisions?
 - c. If you had to give these responsibilities a grade, A as in lots of freedom and E as in insufficient amounts of freedom, what would you give it?
7. Who do you think are the viewers (or listeners) of the APTN?
 - a. Is this information public, private, available?
 - b. What do you think the viewers/participants say about the APTN?
8. Where do you see the APTN in the future?
 - a. What changes would you like them to make in terms of production, scheduling, infrastructure, goals or commitments?
 - b. What would you have them maintain?

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9. What do you think the APTN provide(s), or want(s) to provide for Canadian media?
- a. Do you think that this is occurring, why or why not?
 - b. How may it occur in the future?
10. Would you consider the APTN to be a multicultural environment?
- a. How about on-screen/ off-screen?
 - b. How are (is) the APTN sensitive or not sensitive to multicultural issues and application?
 - c. Is it a multicultural workplace, how/ how not and why/ why not?
 - d. How does this affect your conceptualization of multiculturalism?
11. What is your overall impression of the APTN?
- a. Would you consider it differently after this interview, how/how not and why/ why not?
 - b. Would you add anything else concerning your impressions of the APTN that we have not discussed or covered?
 - c. Is there anything else that you would like the researcher to know in regards to your experiences at the APTN?

Appendix C: Summary of Ethical Considerations of the Research

Rationale for Research

This study proposes to look at an institutional medium to demonstrate and define empowerment for Aboriginal Peoples in Canada and what this means for the future of multiculturalism. On February 22, 1999, Television Northern Canada expanded to operate, with the approval from the CRTC, what is now the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN). The goals of this network are to "provide social benefits by strengthening the cultural identity of Aboriginal peoples and offering a cultural bridge between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians" (CRTC Decision, 99-42). Furthermore, APTN will "provide a much-needed, positive window on Aboriginal life for all Canadians, whether living in the North or in the South" (CRTC Decision 99-42). Essentially APTN offers Aboriginal Peoples the opportunity to self-identify in a Canadian context through telecommunications.

The problems and questions that arise out of providing a separate outlet for the empowerment of Aboriginal Peoples are the issues involving how these peoples self-identify and the nature of APTN goals. Does the APTN empower Aboriginal Peoples through the representation and production of their own identities or does the mandate actually promote another mechanism of assimilation evident through the history of post-confederate Canada and reserve system of the Indian Act? Yet, some academics identify Canada as a postmodern state for its ability to shift identities, such as the multicultural shift and ensuing Multicultural Act of 1985, under the leadership of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (Foster, 2005, Kymlicka, 1998).

Thus, studying the APTN is an exploratory research project attempting to articulate the identities of postmodern Canada in its incorporation of a multitude of cultures and representations of its varied peoples traditionally marginalized from Canadian identity.

Risks to the Informants

The psychological risks of the study may include the personal questioning between the participants own goals and aspirations for APTN versus those expressed at the APTN institutional level. These goals may conflict, and thus they may question or worry about their responses. The social risks are those involved with the type of information provided in the interview.

The goals of the staff and volunteers of any affiliation, often coincide with the goals of the institution itself however, sometimes there are personal conflicts within the administration that may cause some answers to pose some risk to the participant. Furthermore, there are risks involved by the implications of Aboriginal research conducted by non-Aboriginal scholars, or what is referred to as "researched to death". This can increase the divide between Aboriginal and mainstream academia.

Trust between the researcher and the informants, due to this conceptualization of research, may cause the informants to feel at risk. This research is important because it allows the conversations and ideas of these groups to be heard on behalf of their organizations, in their own voices. The goal is to allow their perspectives to be appropriately represented. The intent of the project is to let APTN staff self-determine the concept of empowerment, rather than presume its involvement prior to the interview.

All risks to the participants may occur in their everyday lives, and the interviews are not meant to increase this risk. The interview transcriptions will be kept confidential to the researcher and kept in a safe place in the researcher's home. This place is a locked compartment, needing a key. The researcher's home computer is password protected, and all copies of the transcripts will be on a password protected portable drive (a Cruzer Titanium 512 MB). These are the only places the transcripts, personal notes and data of the research project are to be stored and kept.

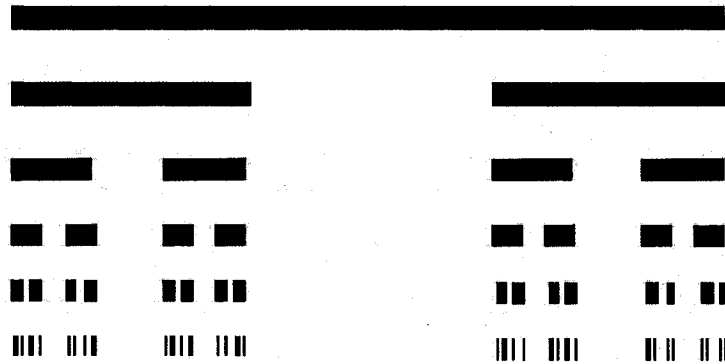
Management of Risks

These risks are managed through the consent form signed at the beginning of each interview. The participants will consent to the knowledge that their statements may be retracted at any point, even after initially giving their consent.

Possible benefits to the participants include quotation in the final copy of the thesis, and recognition for their insights throughout the document. Furthermore, the participants will have access to the completed thesis once bound, and have the ability to contact the researcher at any time regarding their statements, or comments made in regards to these statements.

All informants will receive a contact card with the researcher's institutional information. The names of the participants will be used in the study unless otherwise indicated either verbally or in writing on the consent form (as not checked-off on the consent form). The participants' names will only be used if necessary to the content or impact of a quotation. If the participant wishes to remain anonymous in the finished copy, they will be referred to as "an APTN informant". I cannot promise the confidentiality of those wishing to be named in the study.

Appendix D: Cantor's Dust



(Image interpreted from the image in Strathern (1991).)

The largest line is divided in the next line into thirds with the middle third missing. This missing third represents a 'gap' in the scale of knowledge. Each line after is again divided into thirds with the middle third missing representing further gaps in knowledge. What this model represents to Strathern (1991) is that social interactions, including those between the researcher and the informant, are a demonstration of knowledge being learned, gained and excluded. Cantor's Dust implies that all knowledge is connected to other knowledge through interaction or relationships while at the same time it is partial because it can never represent the entire thing. In this case, the line can never represent a whole line. Even the top line is conceptually a third of another larger line and so on. This is the premise of Chaos theory and fractal geometry. Furthermore, it is mathematically impossible for 1.00 to be divided by 3 -- there will always be a remainder $\{1/3 = 0.333333333333333333etc...\}$. This also signifies the idea of gaps in knowledge or explanation of things. In the context of defining a culture, applying Cantor's Dust suggests the complexity and difficulty with explaining a culture's parameters -- accordingly, it can never be achieved. The use of a mathematical model in anthropology also signifies the interdisciplinary effects of postmodernism.

Appendix E: Head Office Hierarchy Table

Rank	Position Title	Department
1	Chief Executive Officer	Chief Executive Office
1	Chairperson of the Board	Chief Executive Office
1	Chief Financial Officer	Finance Department
1	Director of Human Resources	Human Resources Department
1	Director of Marketing	Marketing Department
1	Director of News & Current Affairs	APTN National News & Current Affairs
1	Director of Operations & Facilities	Operations & Facilities Department
1	Director of Programming	Programming Department
1	Sr. Advisor to the News Director & Current Affairs	APTN National News & Current Affairs
2	Comptroller	Finance Department
2	Executive Producer	APTN National News & Current Affairs
2	Executive Producer On-Air Promotions	Marketing Department
2	Host/ Producer	APTN National News & Current Affairs
2	Manager of Human Resources	Human Resources Department
2	Manager of Programming	Programming Department
2	Marketing Manager	Marketing Department
2	Operations Manager	Operations & Facilities Department
2	Senior News Producer	APTN National News & Current Affairs
2	APTN National News Daytime Host/ Producer	APTN National News & Current Affairs
2	APTN National News Anchor/ Reporter	APTN National News & Current Affairs
2	Client Service Producer	Marketing Department
2	Information Technologist	Operations & Facilities Department
2	Legal Administrator	Programming Department
2	Network Publicist	Marketing Department
2	Promotions Producer	Marketing Department
2	Researcher	APTN National News & Current Affairs
2	Scheduling/ Traffic Manager	Programming Department
2	Studio Director	Operations & Facilities Department
2	Supervisor Master Control	Operations & Facilities Department
2	Writer/ Broadcaster	APTN National News & Current Affairs
2	Affiliate Relations Coordinator	Marketing Department
2	Broadcast Technologists	Operations & Facilities Department
2	Communications Specialist	Marketing Department

2	Editor	Operations & Facilities Department
2	Finance Assistant/ Accounts Payable	Finance Department
2	Finance Assistant/ Accounts Receivable	Finance Department
2	Marketing Coordinator	Marketing Department
2	Programming Assistant	Programming Department
2	Senior Graphics Artist	Marketing Department
2	Studio Crew (Associate Director)	Operations & Facilities Department
2	Studio Crew (Technical Director)	Operations & Facilities Department
2	Winnipeg Correspondent	APTN National News & Current Affairs
3	Accounting Assistant	Finance Department
3	Administrative Assistant/ Operational Coordinator	APTN National News & Current Affairs
3	Administrative Officer	Programming Department
3	Audience Relations Coordinator	Marketing Department
3	Editor	Marketing Department
3	Editor/ Packager	Programming Department
3	Editor/ Shooter	APTN National News & Current Affairs
3	Executive Assistant	Marketing Department
3	Executive Assistant	Operations & Facilities Department
3	Finance Assistant	Finance Department
3	French On-Air Promotions	Marketing Department
3	Master Control	Operations & Facilities Department
3	Senior Executive Assistant	Chief Executive Office
3	Studio Crew	Operations & Facilities Department
3	Traffic Coordinator	Programming Department
3	Video Graphics Artist	Marketing Department
3	Web Editor	Marketing Department
3	Corporate Secretary	Chief Executive Office
3	Office Coordinator	Operations & Facilities Department
3	Program Inventory Assistant	Programming Department
3	Web Assistant	Marketing Department

Appendix F: Programming Schedule 'Slice'

Time	Day 1 Saturday 21-Jan	Day 2 Sunday 22-Jan	Day 3 Monday 23-Jan	Day 4 Tuesday 24-Jan	Day 5 Wednesday 25-Jan	Day 6 Thursday 26-Jan	Day 7 Friday 27-Jan	Day 8 Saturday 28-Jan	Day 9 Sunday 29-Jan	Day 10 Monday 30-Jan	Day 11 Tuesday 31-Jan
8:30am - 9am											
9am - 10:30am											
10:30am - 11am											
11am - 12:30pm											
12:30pm - 1pm											
1pm - 1:30pm											
1:30pm - 2pm											
2pm - 2:30pm											
2:30pm - 3am											
3am - 3:30am											
3:30am - 4am											
4:30am - 5am											
5am - 6:30am											
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11am - 11:30am											
11:30am - noon											
noon - 12:30pm											
12:30pm - 1pm											
1pm - 1:30pm											
1:30pm - 2pm											
2pm - 2:30pm											
2:30pm - 3am											
3am - 3:30am											
3:30am - 4am											

Legend

- Documentaries
- Entertainment
- French
- Kids
- Lifestyles
- News & Current Affairs
- Voices
- Youth

Appendix G: APTN Milestones

Key events in APTN's history from 1978 to 2003**1978-1982:**

The Anik B Experiments. Inuit organizations in Nunavut and Northern Quebec participate in pilot projects to test communications satellites in applications such as TV broadcasting, community communications, tele-education and tele-health.

1980:

CRTC establishes the Committee on Extension of Service to Northern and Remote Communities (the Therrien Committee). The subsequent report stressed the urgent need for special measures to allow aboriginal people to preserve their languages and foster their culture through various broadcasting initiatives.

1981:

CRTC licenses CANCOM to deliver a range of southern programming into northern and remote communities. As a quid pro quo, CANCOM is required to provide assistance to northern aboriginal broadcasters.

1983:

Government of Canada announces the Northern Broadcasting Policy and the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program. Public funds are allocated for the production of radio and television programs by thirteen native communications societies across the north.

1985:

CRTC releases its Northern Native Broadcasting policy statement. This policy establishes certain short term measures to ensure native broadcasters have access to existing northern distribution systems, but it also emphasizes that a dedicated northern transponder would be required to handle the volume of programming and to ensure that programs were scheduled at appropriate times.

1986:

The Task Force on Broadcasting Policy (Caplan-Sauvageau Report) recommends a satellite transponder be dedicated to servicing northern communities

1987:

Northern aboriginal communications societies, as well as CBC and the Government of the Northwest Territories meet to discuss the future of television in the North

1988:

Minister of Communications announces support for a northern aboriginal network to be known as Television Northern Canada (TVNC).

1991:

The new Broadcasting Act recognizes the special place of aboriginal peoples within Canadian society.

1991:

CRTC licenses TVNC.

1992:

Inaugural launch of TVNC.

June 1997:

TVNC Board of Directors votes to move forward towards the establishment of a national aboriginal television network.

November 1997:

TVNC appears before the CRTC hearings into Third National Networks and contends that aboriginal broadcasting should be considered alongside English and French as vital broadcasting services.

December 1997:

TVNC representatives attend the Assembly of First Nations' Annual General Assembly where the AFN unanimously passes a resolution supporting TVNC efforts to establish APTN.

January 1998:

TVNC conducts an Angus Reid survey that finds two out of three Canadians support the idea of a national aboriginal TV network, even if it would mean displacing a currently offered service.

February 1998:

In Public Notice CRTC 1998-8 the CRTC recognizes TVNC as "a unique and significant undertaking" and that a national aboriginal channel should be "widely available throughout Canada in order to serve the diverse needs of the various Aboriginal communities, as well as other Canadians." The Commission also states it would consider any application by TVNC designed to achieve these objectives.

February 1998:

TVNC establishes an Advisory Group of southern aboriginal people involved in the media to assist the TVNC Board of Directors in meeting the needs and aspirations of southern aboriginal producers. Members are: Gary Farmer, Alanis Obomsawin, Roman Bittman, Jim Compton, Barb Cranmer, John Kim Bell, Ghislain Picard and Jean La Rose.

June 1998:

TVNC submits an application to the CRTC for a broadcast license for the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN). This application contains full details on

programming schedule, financial projections, technical specifications, marketing studies and structure.

August 1998:

The TVNC application becomes a public document, available for viewing. TVNC begins to gather letters of support for APTN.

October 1998:

TVNC receives more than 300 letters of support, from all regions of Canada.

November 1998:

TVNC appears at a CRTC public hearing to defend and discuss the application. 20 individuals also present interventions in support of TVNC.

February 22, 1999:

CRTC grants a broadcast license to the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network

September 1, 1999:

APTN is launched nationally to over 9 million homes via cable television, direct-to-home and wireless service viewers.

March 30, 2000:

APTN launches Contact, the first live television national call-in current affairs program about Aboriginal issues in Canada.

April 16, 2000:

APTN launched InVision News, the first national television news program that aired two days a week.

May 2000:

APTN opens Ottawa News Bureau located in the Press Building on Sparks Street.

July 12, 2000:

APTN InVision News broadcasts live coverage of the Assembly of First Nations Elections from Ottawa.

October 2, 2000:

APTN launches second season with 20 new programs in three strands; APTN Entertainment, APTN Perspectives, and APTN Kids chosen from over 1000 proposals by Aboriginal Independent production sector.

November 27, 2000:

APTN InVision News airs live coverage of Canada's National Elections from an Aboriginal perspective from news bureau's in Halifax, Ottawa, Vancouver, Toronto, and Winnipeg.

January 5, 2001:

CRTC issues Decision 2001-01 to amend licence to reduce APTN Canadian content requirements from 90% to 70%, still 10% higher than CBC; yet, APTN exceeds Canadian content at a consistent average of over 80%.

April 22, 2001:

APTN InVision News presents live coverage of the Summit of the Americas held in Quebec City.

June 2001:

APTN InVision News sweeps the Native American Journalists (NAJA) Native Media Awards with four First Place awards in Buffalo, New York, USA.

August 15, 2001:

APTN appears at the House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage and presents a submission entitled "Towards a Truer Mirror" in response to the terms of reference (The State of the Canadian Broadcasting System.) issued in May 2001.

July 28 to August 4, 2002:

APTN as National Host Broadcaster for the 2002 North American Indigenous Games airs one hour live coverage daily of the largest gathering of Aboriginal youth athletes in North America. APTN airs 2.5 hours of exclusive, live, thirteen camera mobile coverage of Opening Ceremonies.

October 16, 2002:

APTN provides comments in response to Public Notice CRTC 2002-49 Call for comments on the channel placement of services whose distribution has been required pursuant to section 9(1)(h) of the Broadcasting Act.

October 28, 2002:

APTN launches third season with 14 new shows and begins a full 24 hour broadcast day.

October 28, 2002:

APTN launches daily news program, APTN National News, with the first Aboriginal television journalist team in Canada and the world.

November 4, 2002:

APTN Board of Directors announce the selection of a new Chief Executive Officer, Mr. Jean LaRose, original member of the APTN Advisory Committee to establish APTN.

January 6, 2003:

APTN launches news bureau in Yellowknife, NWT with two news correspondents.

July 2003:

APTN National News airs live coverage of the 2003 Assembly of First Nations elections for National Chief and contributes content to a multitude of national broadcasters.

September 2003:

APTN launches news bureau in Montreal, PQ.

October 2003:

APTN National News provides coverage of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (National Inuit Organization) elections.

October 2003:

APTN National News airs coverage for the National President of the Métis National Council.

June 2004:

APTN National News hosts two historic all-party debates and launches an interactive news component of the APTN website in conjunction with federal election coverage.

July 12, 2004:

CRTC renders its decision on Public Notice CRTC 2002-49 against imposing channel placement.

September 1, 2004:

APTN celebrates its 5-year anniversary.

September 2004:

APTN launches news bureau in Saskatoon, SK.

Appendix H: Results of Interview Data - Tables

Table 1a: Words for Empowerment – By Number

	#	Totals	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
A	Empowerment	8	-	4	1	3	3	0	6
B	Power	13	4	-	2	2	4	4	11
C	Resistance	5	1	2	-	1	3	0	4
D	Pride	8	3	2	1	-	1	3	7
E	Choice	9	3	4	3	1	-	3	7
F	Ability	8	0	4	0	3	3	-	7
G	Opportunity	21	6	11	4	7	7	7	-

Table 1b: Words for Empowerment – By Percentage

	%	Totals	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
A	Empowerment	33%	-	17%	4%	13%	13%	0%	25%
B	Power	54%	17%	-	8%	8%	17%	17%	46%
C	Resistance	21%	4%	8%	-	4%	13%	0%	17%
D	Pride	33%	13%	8%	4%	-	4%	13%	29%
E	Choice	38%	13%	17%	13%	4%	-	13%	29%
F	Ability	33%	0%	17%	0%	13%	13%	-	29%
G	Opportunity	88%	25%	46%	17%	29%	29%	29%	-

Table 1c: Words for Empowerment – By Number from Most Frequent to Least Frequent

	#	Totals	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
G	Opportunity	21	6	11	4	7	7	7	-
B	Power	13	4	-	2	2	4	4	11
E	Choice	9	3	4	3	1	-	3	7
A	Empowerment	8	0	4	1	3	3	0	6
D	Pride	8	3	2	1	-	1	3	7
F	Ability	8	0	4	0	3	3	-	7
C	Resistance	5	1	2	-	1	3	0	4

Table 1d: Words for Empowerment – By Percentage from Most Frequent to Least Frequent

%		Totals
G	Opportunity	88%
B	Power	54%
E	Choice	38%
A	Empowerment	33%
D	Pride	33%
F	Ability	33%
C	Resistance	21%

Table 2a: Themes of Empowerment – By Number

#	Totals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
1	Mentorship Program	7	-	6	3	2	3	2	1	3	2	7	2	1	1
2	Mandatory Carriage	8	6	-	4	3	4	4	3	5	4	8	3	1	2
3	Our perspective, voice(s)	17	3	4	-	13	9	10	13	14	9	15	4	9	13
4	Reflection of Self	16	2	3	13	-	9	11	13	13	9	14	5	10	13
5	Impact on what goes on air	12	3	4	9	9	-	11	7	8	9	12	5	5	6
6	Focus on issues important to me	13	2	4	10	11	11	-	9	9	9	13	4	5	8
7	Mobility and Financial compensation	16	1	3	13	13	7	9	-	16	10	13	5	10	14
8	Increased responsibility and sense of accomplishment	18	3	5	14	13	8	9	16	-	11	15	6	10	14
9	Freedom to choose	12	2	4	9	9	9	9	10	11	-	12	3	6	8
10	Necessary because of lacking perspective in Canadian Content	21	7	8	15	14	12	13	13	15	12	-	7	9	12
11	Programming for age cohorts using traditional languages	7	2	3	4	5	5	4	5	6	3	7	-	5	5
12	Sense of betterment of social status in life by their employment and involvement with APTN	11	1	1	9	10	5	5	10	10	6	9	5	-	10
13	Learning/ re-learning about own culture	15	1	2	13	13	6	8	14	14	8	12	5	10	-

Table 2b: Themes in the Interviews – By Percentage

	#	#	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	Mentorship Program	29%	-	25%	13%	8%	13%	8%	4%	13%	8%	29%	8%	4%	4%
2	Mandatory Carriage	33%	25%	-	17%	13%	17%	17%	13%	21%	17%	33%	13%	4%	8%
3	Our perspective, voice(s)	71%	13%	17%	-	54%	38%	42%	54%	58%	38%	63%	17%	38%	54%
4	Reflection of Self	67%	8%	13%	54%	-	38%	46%	54%	54%	38%	58%	21%	42%	54%
5	Impact on what goes on air	50%	13%	17%	38%	38%	-	46%	29%	33%	38%	50%	21%	21%	25%
6	Focus on issues important to me	54%	8%	17%	42%	46%	46%	-	38%	38%	38%	54%	17%	21%	33%
7	Mobility and Financial compensation	67%	4%	13%	54%	54%	29%	38%	-	67%	42%	54%	21%	42%	58%
8	Increased responsibility and sense of accomplishment	75%	13%	21%	58%	54%	33%	38%	67%	-	46%	63%	25%	42%	58%
9	Freedom to choose	50%	8%	17%	38%	38%	38%	38%	42%	46%	-	50%	13%	25%	33%
10	Necessary because of lacking perspective in Canadian Content	88%	29%	33%	63%	58%	50%	54%	54%	63%	50%	-	29%	38%	50%
11	Programming for age cohorts using traditional languages	29%	8%	13%	17%	21%	21%	17%	21%	25%	13%	29%	-	21%	21%
12	Sense of betterment of social status in life by their employment and involvement with APTN	46%	4%	4%	38%	42%	21%	21%	42%	42%	25%	38%	21%	-	42%
13	Learning/ re-learning about own culture	63%	4%	8%	54%	54%	25%	33%	58%	58%	33%	50%	21%	42%	-

Table 2c: Theme of Empowerment – Totals (Refer to Table 2a or 2b for Theme definitions)

Themes	Totals
Theme 10	21
Theme 8	18
Theme 3	17
Theme 4	16
Theme 7	16
Theme 13	15
Theme 6	13
Theme 5	12
Theme 9	12
Theme 12	11
Theme 2	8
Theme 1	7
Theme 11	7

Table 3a: Words of Empowerment – By Informant Rank By Number (Refer to Tables 1a – 1d for Words A through G)

#	Totals	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Rank 1	7	4	4	0	1	1	1	7
Rank 2	10	3	5	3	5	4	2	9
Rank 3	7	1	4	2	2	4	4	5
Totals	24	8	13	5	8	9	7	21

Table 3b: Words of Empowerment – By Informant Rank By Percentage

%	Totals	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Rank 1	29%	57%	57%	0%	14%	14%	14%	100%
Rank 2	42%	30%	50%	30%	50%	40%	20%	90%
Rank 3	29%	14%	57%	29%	29%	57%	57%	71%
Totals	-	33%	54%	21%	33%	38%	29%	88%

Table 4a: Themes of Empowerment – By Informant Rank and Order - Number

#	Theme	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Totals
1	1	6	1	0	7
2	2	7	0	1	8
3	3	4	9	4	17
4	4	3	8	5	16
5	5	3	5	4	12
6	6	2	6	4	12
7	7	2	7	7	16
8	8	4	7	7	18
9	9	3	5	4	12
10	10	7	9	5	21
11	11	2	2	3	7
12	12	1	6	4	11
13	13	2	8	5	15

Table 4b: Themes of Empowerment – By Informant Rank and Order – Percentage

Theme	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3
1	86%	14%	0%
2	88%	0%	13%
3	24%	53%	24%
4	19%	50%	31%
5	25%	42%	33%
6	17%	50%	33%
7	13%	44%	44%
8	22%	39%	39%
9	25%	42%	33%
10	33%	43%	24%
11	29%	29%	43%
12	9%	55%	36%
13	13%	53%	33%

Table 5a: Aboriginal Informants Use of Empowerment Words – By Number

#	Aboriginal	#	%
1	G: Opportunity	15	83%
2	F: Ability	7	39%
3	E: Choice	6	33%
4	D: Pride	8	44%
5	C: Resistance	4	22%
6	B: Power	10	56%
7	A: Empowerment	5	28%

Table 5b: White and Visible Minority Informants Use of Empowerment Words – By Percentage

#	White & Visible Minority Informants	#	%
1	G: Opportunity	6	100%
2	F: Ability	1	17%
3	E: Choice	3	50%
4	D: Pride	0	0%
5	C: Resistance	1	17%
6	B: Power	3	50%
7	A: Empowerment	3	50%

Table 6: Themes of Empowerment Used by Aboriginal Informants Compared to White and Visible Minority Informants – By Percentage

Themes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Aboriginal	1 7 %	17 %	83 %	78 %	39%	50%	78 %	83%	44 %	83 %	28 %	56 %	83 %
White & Visible Minorities	0 %	33 %	50 %	10 0%	33%	33%	17 %	67%	67 %	83 %	33 %	67 %	83 %

Table 7a: Words for Empowerment – Comparing Gender By Number and By Percentage

Gender	Female #	Female %	Male #	Male %
A: Empowerment	4	44%	4	27%
B: Power	5	56%	8	53%
C: Resistance	0	0%	5	33%
D: Pride	5	56%	3	20%
E: Choice	1	11%	8	53%
F: Ability	4	44%	4	27%
G: Opportunity	9	100%	12	80%
Total	9	-	15	-

Table 7b: Themes of Empowerment – Comparing Gender By Number and By Percentage

Gender	Female #	Female %	Male #	Male %
Theme 1	2	11%	5	33%
Theme 2	2	22%	6	40%
Theme 3	6	33%	11	73%
Theme 4	6	44%	10	67%
Theme 5	3	56%	9	60%
Theme 6	3	67%	10	67%
Theme 7	7	78%	10	67%
Theme 8	8	89%	10	67%
Theme 9	5	56%	7	47%
Theme 10	6	67%	15	100%
Theme 11	2	22%	5	33%
Theme 12	5	56%	6	40%
Theme 13	7	78%	8	53%
Total	9	-	15	-

Appendix I: Results of Programming Data – Tables
Table 8a: Programming Genres – By Category By Number

Category	Doc	Ent	French	Kids	Lifestyles	News & Current Affairs	Voices	Youth	Totals
Aboriginal	4	3	3	1	2	21	9	3	46
Non- Aboriginal	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	2	7
Aboriginal Language	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	4
English	1	4	0	2	3	21	1	5	37
French	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
1/2 Ab, 1/2 English	2	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	7
No Accent	2	3	5	2	3	18	7	5	45
Yes Accent	2	1	0	0	1	3	2	0	9
Urban Setting	0	2	1	0	3	21	4	4	35
Rural Setting	2	0	3	2	0	0	2	1	10
Remote Setting	2	2	1	0	0	0	3	0	8
Present Time	3	3	4	2	3	20	9	5	49
Past Time	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	4
Totals	4	4	5	2	3	21	9	5	53

Note: Doc. refers to Documentaries and Ent. refer to Entertainment programs.

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Table 8b: Programming Genres – By Category By Percentage

Category	Doc	Ent	French	Kids	Lifestyles	News & Current Affairs	Voices	Youth	Totals
Lead: Aboriginal	100%	75%	60%	50%	67%	100%	100%	60%	87%
Lead: Non- Aboriginal	0%	25%	40%	50%	33%	0%	0%	40%	13%
Aboriginal Language	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	8%
English	25%	100%	0%	100%	100%	100%	11%	100%	70%
French	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	9%
English & Aboriginal	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	56%	0%	13%
No Accent	50%	75%	100%	100%	100%	86%	78%	100%	85%
Accent	50%	25%	0%	0%	33%	14%	22%	0%	17%
Urban	0%	50%	20%	0%	100%	100%	44%	80%	66%
Rural	50%	0%	60%	100%	0%	0%	22%	20%	19%
Remote	50%	50%	20%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	15%
Present	75%	75%	80%	100%	100%	95%	100%	100%	92%
Past	25%	25%	20%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	8%
Totals	8%	8%	9%	4%	6%	40%	17%	9%	-